HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Conservatives Have Serious Doubts

Can Nixon's Welfare Plan Work?

In a feverish display of activity from the new San Clemente White House, President Nixon unveiled last week a dizzying array of messages and proposals primarily designed to produce sweeping reforms in the nation's welfare system. While there were some surprises, most of the proposals had already been foreshadowed in Nixon's nationwide TV address August 8.

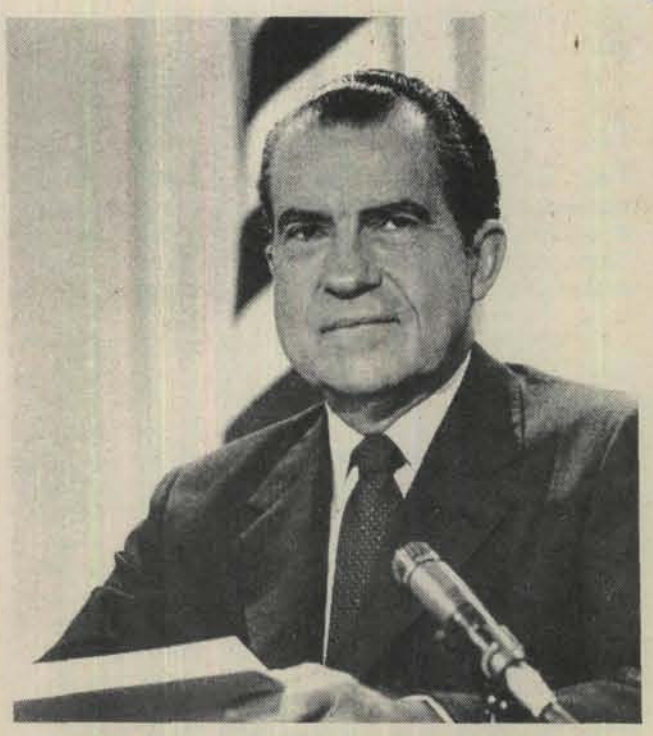
On the surface, there were many aspects of the "New Federalism" that were gratifying to those who had voted for the President on the grounds he would bring a conservative cast to his Administration. Wrapping his proposals in conservative rhetoric, the President lashed into the "entrenched" federal programs of the New Deal, denounced the federal bureaucracy as a "monstrosity" and scored the last three decades of increasingly centralized power and responsibility in Washington.

The President's own program, in essence, would provide a federal minimum welfare standard for the poor—both working and non-working—sweetened with a revenue sharing plan for the states and an earnest effort to remove people from welfare through job training, work incentives and a big club: Those who refuse to take a job or learn a trade receive no handouts.

The President also struck some responsive chords in the economy bloc in Congress and around the country. For, despite acknowledging that his program would be initially expensive, Nixon urged the abolition of the much criticized and costly Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and a drastic reduction in the food stamp program.

Furthermore, the program openly courts the conservative followers of George Corley Wallace. By offering to extend federal assistance to the "working poor"—which roughly translates into the white, working poor in the South and Border states, many of whom voted for George Wallace—the Nixon Administration obviously hopes to bind much of the South to the GOP in future presidential elections. In fact, about 50 per cent of the aid under the new program will go into Southern states, which won't hurt politically in getting the plan through Congress.

But the conservatives weren't the only ones who found some pleasant surprises. Liberals are openly gloating that for the first time, a President, and a Republican one at that, has offered a federal minimum for the poor and has even agreed to enlarge federal welfare subsidies by extending them to those not already on relief. Moreover, the program, even by Nixon's own admission, is going to be expensive.



President Nixon poses for cameramen before he delivered his far-ranging welfare proposals to the nation.

The political deftness of the plan could be viewed in the reaction to it. Generally speaking, the President's proposals were well received by both liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans. Conservative columnists James Jackson Kilpatrick and David Lawrence hailed the new proposals and even the Chicago *Tribune*, albeit in tepid terms, claimed that the Nixon plan looked better than what exists. The New York *Times* and the Washington *Post*, two Liberal Establishment organs, accorded the package high marks, as did many other liberal journals of opinion.

Lawmakers on Capitol Hill praised the new reforms, though many liberals, such as Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.) and Rep. John Conyers (D.-Mich.) are already screaming that the Nixon plan is not very generous to the poor, while others resent the "work for your welfare" requirements.

Conservative Republicans, like Representatives John Rhodes (Ariz.), James Utt (Calif.) and Leslie Arends (Ill.) heartily endorsed the measures, but others were silent or viewed them, like a pet cobra, with extreme caution. Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), chairman of the American Conservative Union, was known to be privately antagonistic.

Ashbrook's ACU, in fact, had initially sought out economic expert Henry Hazlitt to write a critique of the program and Hazlitt himself was known to view the whole thing as creating, not a "new federalism," but a new welfarism. This view was also shared by other conservatives, such as Gen. Thomas A. Lane and editor M. Stanton Evans.

Overall, however, the reaction could best be described as kind, with the White House claiming mail from every section of the country is running 20 to 1 in favor of the new proposal.

Aside from its political canniness, however, would the Nixon package, as the President suggests, really decentralize the federal government, reduce costs in the short or long run or make a start toward solving the welfare problem?

The answers are not simple, partly because none of the Nixon proposals has even been drafted into bill form for study. More important, however, each part of the Nixon package appears enveloped in ambiguities and opposing tendencies.

Take, for instance, the federal revenue sharing program. Under this proposal, the federal government, through a special formula based on state population and a state's tax effort, would distribute $5 billion to both state and local governments by the fiscal year 1976 and more every year thereafter.

The money distributed through the fund-sharing plan would be completely without strings and could be spent in any way the state and local governments desired. Revenues would only be returned to government units, but they would go to small villages as well as state capitals and large cities.

Thus it would seem that the plan would, indeed, reverse, as the President claimed, the "gathering of the reins of power in Washington." Yet this is not necessarily the case.

While President Nixon stressed that his proposal "marks a turning point in federal-state relations, the beginning of decentralization of governmental power," Administration officials expressly stated that the revenue-sharing proposal would supplement, not replace, hundreds of categorical grant programs the federal government bestows on the states.

But if it would not replace any of the categorical grant programs, then where is there any "decentralization" of power? There would, in fact, be no decentralization.

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NEWSPAPER

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Coalition Efforts Fail

'United Front Against Fascism'

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Which Postal Bill Is Better?

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Capital Briefs

● **Arthur Burns,** one of Richard Nixon's top legislative advisers, was instrumental in putting into the President's welfare reform proposal the portions stressing that a person must either work or take job training if he is to receive a federal handout. According to White House informants, both HEW Secretary Robert Finch and presidential adviser Daniel Patrick Moynihan were "lukewarm" to the idea.

● Despite the controversy swirling around the new welfare reform measure, the White House says that telegrams and letters favor the President's proposals by a **20-to-1 margin.**

● The Administration has a **new Southeast Asia worry.** This time it's the crucial country of Laos, which is sandwiched among the borders of Viet Nam, Cambodia, Red China and Thailand. According to military experts—including U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. William Westmoreland—the North Vietnamese appear to be on the verge of overrunning this tiny but strategically placed nation. "Unless the U.S. does something quick," says one well-placed observer, "Laos will be lost."

● The New York Times Magazine reports that Atty. Gen. **John Mitchell**—against the advice of most of the career lawyers in his department—approved the prosecution of eight leaders of the anti-war demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention last summer. Among those now facing trial as a result: Tom Hayden, a founder of SDS, and Bobby Seale, a top leader of the Black Panthers.

● How is **Teddy Kennedy's popularity** faring after Chappaquiddick? Time magazine, which often portrays the Kennedys in a favorable light, reported that of the 1,172 readers who voiced an opinion on Teddy, 823 generally criticized the senator, with the rest expressing forgiveness and/or confidence.

● Perhaps the most incisive summation of the Teddy incident came from San Francisco's Rafael Carapella in a letter to Time. "The Edward Kennedy tragedy," said Carapella, "shows in a symbolic way what is wrong with the **liberal politician** today. While looking all over the land for peoples to be saved—blacks, Puerto Ricans, the poor, Mexicans, Eskimos—Mr. Kennedy and his associates, when confronted with the opportunity of saving a single but real human life, failed miserably to take any action. They were paralyzed by 'grief, fear, doubt, exhaustion, panic, confusion and shock.'"

● Justice Department crime fighters have opened a **top-secret probe** into ties between the Cosa Nostra and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic organization. Presentations to a federal grand jury are expected later this year.

● If there are still doubts that the radical **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS) wish a Communist victory in Viet Nam, they were dispelled recently by Linda Evans, a member of the National Interim Committee of SDS. At an airport press conference in New York following the arrival of three American servicemen just released by Hanoi, Miss Evans said: "We believe the Vietnamese people should win. We're on their side. All the peoples of the world should be free from aggression, and the U.S. is an aggressor. Since we want them to win, we will do everything we can to help them... by supporting the DRV [North Viet Nam], the NLF [Viet Cong] and the new Provisional Revolutionary Government [Communist front recently set up in South Viet Nam]. Thirteen-year-olds in Viet Nam have shot down American planes. They are an inspiration to the movement of young people in America, in our fight. We are sure the Vietnamese will win; they **should** win, and they will win. . . .We think the war will really end only when we bring the war home to America."

● A **top Cuban Communist** was quietly given permission by the State Department to visit the United States for surgery. Elena Izquierdo, a personal friend of Fidel Castro's, is now recuperating in New York from eye surgery that was supposedly unavailable in Havana.

● New Hampshire's Republican Gov. **Walter Peterson** made a surprise move to ward off potential future opposition last week when he nominated his popular Democratic predecessor, John W. King, to a vacancy on the state superior court. King, who lost a bid for the Senate in 1968 after two terms as governor, had been mentioned frequently as a candidate to oppose Patterson's reelection next year.

● The U.S. Communist party continues its close alliance with **Fidel Castro.** Havana radio last week broadcast that a six-member delegation of the U.S. party, headed by party President Henry Winston, was visiting Havana.

● **Cornell University** is beginning to feel the financial effects of the raucous, gun-totin' turmoil that visited the New York state campus last spring. University fund-raisers had been counting on—and predicting—an 18 per cent increase in alumni donations this year. To date there has been barely a 5 per cent increase.

● **Al Fatah,** the Palestinian guerrilla organization, is currently training some 150 leftist Western youths to be "guerrilla ambassadors" who will return to their native countries to propagandize for the Arab cause, and against the Israelis, in the Mid-East confrontation. At least four of the youths are American, with others representing the countries of Britain, France, Ireland, Sweden, West Germany and Italy. They were reportedly recruited by a London-based Maoist group, Friends of Palestine.

● Your chances of being a victim of **serious crime** have doubled since 1960, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover disclosed last week. In that period crime has soared 122 per cent, compared to a population increase of only 11 per cent. "Thus crime continues to outstrip population 11 to 1," Hoover noted.

HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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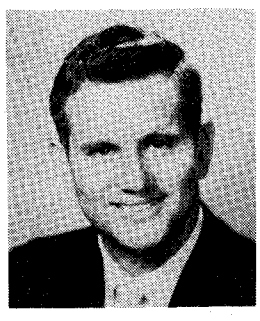
Will Ichord Release HCUA Hearings?

Security experts on Capitol Hill are keenly disappointed in the apparent decision by Rep. Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.) not to release important closed-door hearings taken last year before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The subject of that probe: the collapse of Pentagon security procedures.



ICHORD

Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.), a member of the House Committee on Internal Security, formerly the Committee on Un-American Activities, requested Ichord to make the testimony public. But Ichord, the panel's new chairman, told the Indiana lawmaker in an August 4 letter that he didn't think it would be "desirable or appropriate" to publish the testimony as it now stands.

Ichord wrote that he would not release the hearings, at least for now, because the previous chairman had not published them, the testimony was allegedly incomplete and the composition of the new committee was different from the old committee. He also suggested he didn't want to pursue the investigation any further.

Although he has a high regard for Ichord, Roudebush says he does not agree with the Missourian's position on this issue. Roudebush thinks the record "should be public knowledge, and this could only be achieved by publication of the hearings."

Knowledgeable observers share Roudebush's belief that these hearings should be made public and they are slightly astonished at Ichord's reaction. While it is agreed that some judicious editing of the hearings and a committee report would be beneficial—neither of which Ichord has said he wants—there is also the belief that the hearings, standing by themselves, are a telling indictment of Pentagon security practices.

In conducting its investigation last year, the House committee thoroughly queried Pentagon officials as to why they had given three separate secret security clearances to Robert Arthur Niemann, who had been working on Air Force defense contracts.

Niemann, the committee revealed, received clearances to work on secret projects even though he had been involved in far-out activities and had belonged to, or worked with, nearly two dozen organizations that were either Communist, subversive or radical-left.

While he was cleared to work on secret Air Force projects, Niemann became active in the Communist-inspired W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, developed close ties to the black revolutionary movement, publicly acknowledged voting for Communists for public office and worked with Communists to stage demonstrations against the President of the United States.

So poor was the Defense Department's security policy that 15 months after Niemann had *publicly* joined the DuBois Clubs, the Pentagon's director for security, Joseph J. Liebling, claimed that the screening board of the Defense Department, "having considered all the available information, has determined that continuation of Mr. Niemann's secret clearance is clearly consistent with the national interest." That should be of interest to the Justice Department, which recognizes the DuBois Clubs as a Communist front.

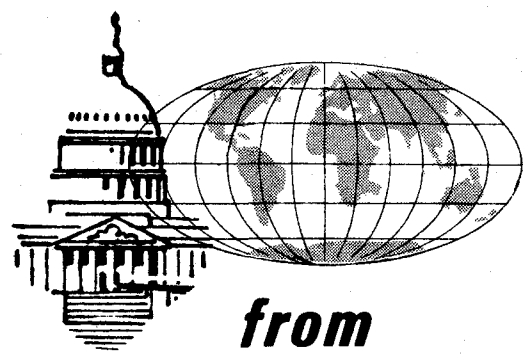
Toward the close of the hearings last year, Ichord, together with other members of the committee, expressed amazement that Niemann could have been granted no fewer than three security clearances. Even Liebling, according to one committee source, appeared "flabbergasted" at Niemann's deep involvement in radical activities as disclosed by the committee.

What greatly disturbs a number of Pentagon observers today, moreover, is that Liebling is still director for security for the Defense Department in the Nixon Administration.

Not only was Liebling irritatingly evasive before the House committee, he has not been able to explain why the Pentagon thought it was "clearly consistent with the national interest" to bestow a secret clearance on Niemann.

Publication of the hearings, it is claimed, would reveal just how serious a breach of security there has been at the Pentagon, but Ichord apparently has decided to quash the testimony. The Missourian, it is hoped, will reconsider his decision and bring out a report on the hearings as well.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Goodell Battles Rocky

New York Sen. Charles Goodell is near an open break with the man who named him to the Senate only last year—Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Goodell, whose ultra-liberal stance has antagonized Republican regulars throughout the state, has threatened to split the party "wide open" if Rocky does not quash GOP opposition to him.

GOODELL

But the governor appears unlikely to do so—despite threats by Goodell to launch a personal attack against "boss" Rockefeller. Aware that anti-Goodell sentiment is widespread, Rockefeller has declined to endorse the senator for re-election. And he has refused to muzzle state GOP leaders who have made clear their dissatisfaction with Goodell.

Resentment against Goodell is not hard to fathom. The senator was known as a moderate-conservative during his days in the House of Representatives, and it was partly for this reason that he was chosen by Rockefeller over ultra-liberal Rep. Odgen Reid to succeed Bobby Kennedy.

However, since his selection he has been running leftwards at full speed: His repeated "reservations" about Nixon played a large part in the loss of the state in last year's campaign, and since that time he has enraged New York GOPers by his prominent opposition to ABM and his endorsement of John Lindsay for mayor over Republican nominee John Marchi. Several upstate county chairmen are said to be so mad that they have declared Goodell *persona non grata* at party functions.

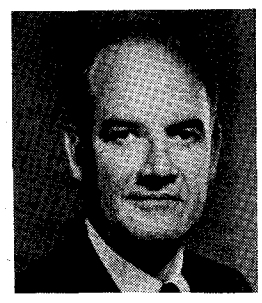
Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson, a conservative and possible senatorial candidate himself, has made little effort to hide his displeasure with Goodell. Nor have GOP leaders in the state legislature. In vain, Goodell has pleaded with Rockefeller to quiet the Republican critics.

Meanwhile, Goodell continues his frantic efforts to build a statewide "image." Very much aware of the favorable publicity amassed by President Nixon during his recent trip to Rumania, Goodell announced that he, too, would visit the Eastern European country.

The Rumanian visit is one of the few things that Nixon and the New York senator have in common. Aides to Goodell say that they expect him to oppose President Nixon's appointment of Charles Haynesworth to the Supreme Court. Opposition to the Southern jurist is designed to aid Goodell among liberal voters in general and among Negroes in particular.

McGovern Losing His Coo ?

Aspiring presidential candidate Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) delivered a surprise verbal assault against North Viet Nam last week, arousing speculation that the Dakota super-dove is trying to repair some self-inflicted political damage resulting from his hush-hush visit with Hanoi's peace negotiators in Paris nearly three months ago.



McGOVERN

After McGovern secretly conferred with Communist representatives in the French capital last May, he returned parroting the Red line even more fervently than he had before. He told his Senate colleagues that his tete-a-tete with America's adversaries had convinced him once again that the United States had no recourse but to dump the pro-Western government of Saigon and withdraw the U.S. military presence as rapidly as possible from South Viet Nam, no matter what the consequences.

Sharply criticizing the United States for, in effect, not abandoning the South to the Communists, McGovern then suggested he did not believe at all that Hanoi or the Viet Cong would initiate a "bloodbath" against non-Communist Vietnamese if the Americans left. His reasoning, despite massive evidence to the contrary, was simple: His Paris hosts had solemnly assured him otherwise. Indeed, McGovern indicated, so reasonable and good-willed was Ho Chi Minh that even "during the heaviest of the bombing attacks upon North Viet Nam, the schools in Hanoi continued to teach American history and American literature. . . ."

Subsequent to this extraordinary apologia for North Viet Nam and the National Liberation Front, its political arm in the South, politicos say McGovern has been receiving heavy static from important home state constituents. Whether as a result of such pressures or not, last week South Dakota's ambitious senator temporarily shifted targets, exposing, in the process, North Viet Nam's inhumane prisoner of war policy. While expressing joy over Hanoi's recent release of three Americans, McGovern reminded his colleagues that families of some 1,300 other American servicemen remain in a "state of desperate uncertainty."

As of July 26, he stressed, we knew that 346 of these young men were prisoners of war, but there is little information available about their health or safety. There is photographic evidence that those who were injured when they were captured have received poor medical treatment and some have been forced to parade as human displays. There is also evidence that these prisoners are kept in isolation from each other.

"The situation," said McGovern, "is even more deplorable for the other 978 who, as of July 26, were reported as missing in action. Their families cannot even learn whether they are alive or dead."

McGovern said he was "acutely aware of one case in this category." He mentioned that when he raised the POW issue in May with representatives of both North Viet Nam and the National Liberation Front, he had inquired specifically about a South Dakota pilot who had been downed over North Viet Nam in January 1968. Sometime after returning to the United States, McGovern received a letter from Paris advising him that the young man in question had been severely injured, that medical treatment had been unavailable and that he had died within a few hours after his capture. "This information," said McGovern, "is still inconclusive. There has been no further confirmation."

On June 28, 1957, North Viet Nam agreed to the Geneva Convention of 1949 which requires that the names of prisoners be made available, that sick and wounded prisoners be released immediately, that prisoner of war facilities be opened up to impartial inspection, that all prisoners receive proper treatment

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and that a regular flow of mail be allowed.

North Viet Nam, McGovern charged, has "violated [this convention] in at least six particulars. They have not given the names of prisoners. Only 100 prisoners have been allowed to write their families, at a rate averaging only two letters per year. The locations of prison compounds have not been revealed, let alone opened to impartial inspection. The sick and wounded have not been exchanged. Prisoners have been placed on public display and subjected to abuses of the populace."

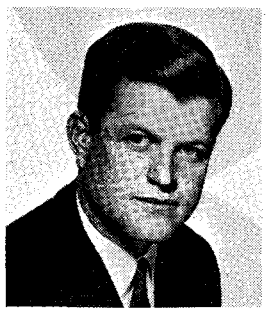
North Vietnamese officials have indicated their belief that the Geneva Convention does not apply in Viet Nam because it is not a real war and prisoners are therefore war criminals. Hitting this alibi head on, McGovern says the excuse "is not even good subterfuge." The convention does not require a declaration of war. Article 2 provides that it shall apply to all cases of declared war or "of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the high contracting parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them."

Aside from all this, McGovern points out that the United States *has* lived up to the convention. "We have abided by its dictates throughout the course of the conflict in Viet Nam. Forces captured in South Viet Nam are detained in prisoner of war camps which are inspected regularly by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Sick and wounded prisoners have been released."

By the end of last week, McGovern was again hammering away at the President for not bugging out of Viet Nam, but, for a small while, at any rate, the South Dakotan had glimpsed the ruthless nature of the enemy he so persistently defends.

Plot Thickens in Kennedy Case

The controversy surrounding Sen. Edward Kennedy's tragic July 18 automobile accident refuses to go away, much as the Massachusetts senator would like the whole matter dismissed. The latest evidence that more is involved than Kennedy has let meet the public eye comes from Manchester (N.H.) *Union Leader* reporter Arthur Egan.



KENNEDY

Egan divulged last week the fact that although Kennedy claimed to have been "in a state of shock" after the traffic accident which took the life of Mary Jo Kopechne, he "nevertheless had the mental fortitude to make a total of 17 telephone calls in the hours succeeding the accident." Egan claimed that all the calls—five from Chappaquiddick Island and 12 from the Shiretown Inn—were billed to Kennedy's credit card number through the Edgartown operator.

Kennedy's first call, said Egan, was from the party cottage to the Kennedy family compound in Hyannis Port, lasting 21 minutes. The second call placed by Kennedy, stated Egan, "was to speech writer Ted Sorensen in New York City and again, according to telephone company records this call was of eight minutes duration."

The third call was to Washington lawyer Burke Marshall, but this number failed to answer. One call was recorded to a number in Boston, but this was said to be an unlisted published number, so ownership could not be determined by Egan. The fifth call from the weekend party scene, stated Egan, was back to Ted Sorensen in New York.

The other 12 telephone calls made by Teddy during the early morning hours after the fatal crash were made from a pay telephone in the Shiretown Inn, the mainland hotel in Edgartown where Kennedy had rented several rooms.

"It was noted by the persons who secured the list of 17 calls," said Egan, "that there were no efforts to reach police, fire or Coast Guard officials to summon help to learn the fate of Miss Kopechne."

While Teddy's office denied last week that the Egan story was true, Police Chief Dominick Arena of Edgartown has acknowledged that he was well aware of the phone calls. Reporters who have kept close tabs on the incident, moreover, stress that Arena's threat to produce the calls at a pre-trial hearing and shoot down Teddy's "shock" story, is what made Teddy change his mind and plead guilty to leaving the scene of an accident rather than face a hearing and possible trial.

Grape Strikers' Red Herring

The Great California Grape War has now escalated into its own nutty brand of chemical-biological warfare. It seems the forces seeking to unionize grape pickers are now trying to duplicate the "cranberry scare" of a few years back by convincing the buying public that table grapes produced by non-union growers are somehow loaded with fatal doses of pesticides, while those distributed by unionized growers are little fruits of health.

The new development got its start when Jerry Cohen, general counsel for the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor carrying two bunches of table grapes which he claimed contained potentially toxic quantities of the chemical pesticide aldrine.

Cohen provided the subcommittee with a report from the England Laboratory of Washington, D.C., purportedly showing the grapes had an aldrine content of 18 parts-per-million, while the legal tolerance level is .01 parts-per-million.

The subcommittee, heavily weighted with pro-union Democrats, viewed this finding with appropriate alarm and ordered the Food and Drug Administration to conduct tests of table grapes sold in urban markets and examine them for pesticide residue. The FDA did just that, buying and testing 60 samples of table grapes in the markets of Washington (where the tainted UFWOC bunches were allegedly purchased), Baltimore, Los Angeles, New York City and Chicago.

And. . . .?

"None of the samples contained pesticide residues above tolerance, and all residues were substantially below tolerance. No residues of aldrin were found." So said the FDA's report to the subcommittee.

"Obviously," said California GOP Sen. George Murphy, who likes table grapes, "the union has raised the pesticide issue in an effort to further harass the grape industry and in furtherance of their design to force the grape growers to force their workers to join a union which they do not wish to join. I believe they have gone too far in this case and that this deplorable story will show up the UFWOC effort for what it really is."

It's another case of statutory grape.

Golf Courses for the Poor

While President Nixon is requesting Congress to tighten up on federal spending, his own Agriculture Department has committed some $271,000 in taxpayers' funds so an all-white Mississippi golf club can expand its recreational facilities. Among other things, the Natchez Trace Golf Club, Inc., in Lee County, plans to use the money to buy land it has been leasing for a nine-hole course, purchase additional land, build another nine holes and, to top the whole thing off, construct a clubhouse, a swimming pool and some tennis courts. According to government officials, the program is a boon for the poor.

The project falls under the department's Farmer Home Administration, which supervises a program designed to turn retired farm land into recreational areas. Under this program, the FHA has helped construct close to 500 golf courses around the U.S.

The federal money for the Natchez Trace Golf Club is of special interest because the club happens to be in the congressional district of Jamie Whitten, the Democratic chairman of the appropriations subcommittee which will pass on the Department of Agriculture's budget. (Agency officials in Washington and in Mississippi deny Whitten exerted any pressure whatsoever, but Washington, of course, is always eager to pave a powerful congressman's district with gold on the grounds it will ease relations between the executive and the legislature.)

Technically, FHA money is used for facilities which "primarily serve farmers and other rural residents," with a rural resident being defined as "a permanent resident of a rural area or small country town of not more than 5,500 population which is not part of an urban area." Accordingly, the FHA announcement of its project said the facility "will serve the communities of Shanon, Saltille, Guntown and Baldwyn."

However, right smack in the middle of them is Tupelo, Miss., with a population of 17,000 and the government has every intention of permitting these residents to use the golf club as well.

In granting the funds, the Farmers Home Administration has also bent another of its own rules. "We try to avoid indebtedness of more than $1,000 per family membership," said FHA official Robert S. Crites. The club, however, had 221 members at the time of its application and now has 231, which would put the indebtedness at $1,173 per family, or some 17 per cent above the guideline.

The FHA has no intention of enforcing the anti-discrimination provisions of its guidelines, either. "I'd guess we don't have any system for doing that," Crites has said.

Actually, the government is not directly giving the club a check for $270,000. The Bank of Mississippi in Tupelo is actually doing the lending, charging the club 5 per cent interest—far under current rates—and granting it 40 years (the FHA maximum) to pay off. Formal closing of the deal is not expected for about a month.

If the loan closes with the market rate at 8 per cent, the government would put up the additional 3 per cent interest. If the money market remains stable, the government would then pay a total of $271,000 over the 40-year period. The club plans to invest $71,410.

The next time you happen to be around Tupelo, Miss., stop in and see your golf course. If you're black, forget it.

'Che!' Angers Legionnaires

Insiders expect there will be some verbal fireworks at the American Legion's National Convention in Atlanta on August 26. The reason: a number of veteran Legionnaires would like to see the organization once again take a stand against some of the radical fare coming out of Hollywood.

The Legion rank-and-file, for instance, is hoping to get the national organization to declare itself in opposition to the film *Che!*, a glorification of Fidel Castro's chief tactician on guerrilla warfare, the late Ernesto "Che" Guevara. On August 5 local Legionnaires picketed the premier of *Che!* in Bakersfield, Calif., while the Texas Legion has denounced *Che!* in a resolution. But the rank-and filers are expecting a battle from the national leadership which has backed away from fights with Hollywood in recent years.

The American Legion, say organization veterans, have particular reason to be angry over any exaltation of "Che" and Communist Cuba. Howard Anderson, commander of the only American Legion Post in Cuba when Castro took over, was murdered by the Cuban government on trumped-up charges.

Continued from page 1

Nixon's Welfare Plan

The revenue sharing would at best amount to a tax reduction to the states and localities, but would not actually reverse the flow of power from Washington to the states. Only by ending federally controlled programs, of course, can there be an end to centralization of power in Washington. The President's position on this matter is not clear, despite the fact that such cuts, in addition to aiding decentralization, would also help him reach another of his announced

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goals: reducing the costs of federal government.

Still another point: Wouldn't it be simpler to reverse the "flow of governmental power" by just cutting federal spending and holding down federal taxes? Why should the money first come to Washington and then go back to the states? Why not leave it with the states and localities in the first place? The argument that the federal government is "far more efficient in raising tax funds" is hardly comforting to conservatives.

Another crucial aspect of the President's welfare reform measure is his proposed Manpower Training Act that would, presumably, replace the jumble of programs already in existence. This proposal is expected to train 1.75 million workers during the first full year of operation.

In an effort to restore power to the states and localities, the program would be administered by governors and mayors who demonstrate the capacity to do so. The plan would provide incentive allowances to trainees, create career development plans for them and establish a national computerized job bank to match job seekers with job vacancies. There would also be funds for relocation services.

Like many other parts of the President's welfare reform proposals, this program is also going to be very expensive. Nixon asserts that the cost during the first full year of operation will be $3.5 billion—half a billion more than the collection of current manpower training programs.

And while the President is placing much faith in this proposal, the truth is that previous government manpower training programs have been a dismal flop.

For instance, former Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz announced in March 1967 a special job training program aimed at 19 urban slums and two rural areas. The goal of that program, unveiled in Washington with much fanfare, was to put "25,000 to 40,000 people in jobs" within six months and to employ 100,000 to 150,000 more in an additional 50 areas within a year.

Nine months after its announcement, however, the Concentrated Employment Program had provided jobs for only 6,900 persons. Similarly poor performance has been notable in other federal training programs, such as the Job Corps.

Thus, despite the President's hopes in this area, there is little evidence to encourage the belief that even coordinated government job training programs administered on the local level will actually be able to provide millions of jobs for the poor.

In this regard, conservatives were disappointed that the President made no mention of two themes that were prominent in his campaign rhetoric: voluntarism and tax credits for business. Rather than trusting to a rejuggled version of programs that have already failed, why, ask conservatives, didn't the President make more use of the most successful job-training mechanism in history: American industry?

★ ★ ★

The most sweeping reform in the President's entire package was his message dealing strictly with welfare. By now many of the features of this plan have become somewhat familiar:

• The Nixon proposal would set a standard federal welfare minimum of $1,600 a year for every unemployed family of four—a figure that amounts to $133.33 a month. The first two members of a family unit, whether mother and father, mother and child or father and child, is each to receive $500 a year; all other children would be paid a $300 yearly allowance. This would be a boon for the 20 states—mainly in the South—that now provide relief payments at well below the national average. In Mississippi, for instance, a monthly payment could jump from the $38.05 at present to as much as $139.63. Welfare payments in states that already hand out more than the Nixon-proposed minimum would remain at about their present levels, since each state is required to chip in at least 50 per cent—and up to a maximum of 90 per cent—of their existing public assistance contributions. These states would receive something under the plan, however, since the federal government will pay 10 per cent more of their welfare expenses than it does now.

• The working poor would also be guaranteed a basic annual income of $1,600. In figuring the amount of a family's assistance allowance, the government would disregard the first $15 in weekly earnings, or about $720 in annual earnings, so that a family now receiving paychecks totalling $720 a year would have an annual income of $2,320. For every dollar earned above $720, the $1,600 federal grant would be reduced by 50 cents. Thus a family with $2,000 in annual earnings would receive $960 in federal funds. If the family earned $3,000 it would get $460 from the government. A family earning $3,920 a year would no longer be eligible for relief support.

A major feature of the Nixon plan is a provision designed to encourage those on welfare to go to work. The President placed enormous emphasis on this part of his program and, in truth, his entire effort to remove people from the welfare rolls hinges on this unique aspect.

Nixon has adopted both the carrot and the stick approaches. To foster a desire for work, he has told the poverty-stricken that their federal subsidies will not be automatically dropped if they find employment. He would also pay individuals to take job training programs.

Moreover, applicants for welfare, both men and women, would be required to register with the Federal-State Employment Service. If they turn down a job or a chance for job training, then their share of the family security allowance would be cut off.

As the President himself said: "Under this proposal, everyone who accepts benefits must also accept work or training, provided suitable jobs are available either locally or at some distance if transportation is provided. The only exceptions would be those unable to work, and mothers of pre-school children. Even mothers of pre-school children, however, would have the opportunity to work—because I am also proposing along with this a major expansion of day-care centers to make it possible for mothers to take jobs by which they can support themselves and their children."

This portion of the President's program has been well received by most conservatives, including such lawmakers as Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) and Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa).

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the cost of this program would be staggering and it is not at all certain just how the work aspects would be enforced.

The drawbacks to the program appear considerable. So far as the price tag is concerned, the President acknowledges that—even with the elimination of the AFDC program and the cut-backs in the food stamp program—his plan would cost the federal government an additional $4 billion a year. Many experts believe it will cost much more than this.

Furthermore, while insisting he wants to cut down on welfare, his plan would put 23 million Americans on the "welfare" or "family assistance" rolls, more than doubling the number of persons on relief today. In addition, the manpower training features and the comprehensive day-care centers will cost billions of dollars a year.

In short, if the work features of the program do not accomplish anything, Nixon will have created massive, expensive federal machinery for nothing and added 13 million to the relief rolls to boot.

Moreover, the entire program could become a bonanza for chiselers and loafers—just as have many welfare schemes in the past. Applicants for family allowances, for instance, would not be subject to much scrutiny. To receive a government check, all they would have to do would be to fill out a simple statement of need, saying what they expect their income to be in the benefit year. Monthly amounts would be mailed directly to recipients from a central federal agency, without preliminary investigation. Spot checks would be conducted on a random basis.

While some maintain that this sytem is sound because income tax returns are policed in the same way, many conservatives are not convinced of the analogy. They point out that serious punishment—a fine or imprisonment—is inflicted on anyone who gets caught cheating on his income tax, while the Administration does not appear to be seeking any stiff penalties for cheating on welfare.

In addition to all this, the Nixon Administration's belief that millions can be taken off the current welfare rolls and be put to work may be quite untrue. In March 1969, of the approximately 9.6 million persons participating in the four principally federally aided public assistance programs, 80,000 were blind, 728,000 were permanently and totally disabled, and two million were in the old-age category. Under the AFDC category, 4.8 million were children and some 1.5 million were mothers of pre-school children. None of these persons would come under the work provisions.

Of the remaining welfare recipients, 400,000 to 500,000 are women with school-age children and 80,700 are employable males who are eligible for aid to families with dependent children payments. Thus, of the total welfare population, only little over a half-million will be required to obtain work or seek job training under the Nixon plan.

What assurances, moreover, does the taxpayer have that those eligible for work will actually be forced to find work or seek job training? Will the Administration set up some tough enforcement machinery or, as is likely, permit soft-hearted social agencies to monitor this most important task?

The President himself left a large loophole for those who don't want to accept work by stressing that any job must be "suitable." Who will determine the "suitability" of a job? And is the Nixon Administration really convinced the majority of those who do take job training will really be able to climb off the relief rolls?

Does the Nixon plan, furthermore, really offer a good incentive to get off welfare? Not necessarily. Assuming the administrators really do crack down on those who can work but won't, a violator of the rules would find his share of the family security allowance cut off, but the rest of his family would still receive aid.

The "working poor," further, might actually find the extra family allowance bestowed upon them by the Nixon Administration a *dis*incentive to seek higher-paying work. If, for instance, a head of a family had felt it necessary to better his earning position before the Nixon speech, he may now figure his earning position will be improved without lifting a finger.

Aside from all this, as many have pointed out, there is little likelihood that the Nixon program will pass in its present form. Liberal members of Congress from both parties are likely to swell the size of the family allowance and, like Social Security and Medicare, Congress will drastically push up the subsidies.

No one really denies that the present welfare program is bad business. The number of AFDC welfare recipients has more than doubled in the past 10 years, to a current total of about 6.6 million persons. The price to the taxpayer has jumped to $3.5 billion annually, with no end to these increases in sight.

But the Nixon proposal, unless Congress drastically reduces its scope, refuses to extend subsidies to those not already on relief and provides air-tight enforcement machinery for the work features of the program, may very well turn into the most expensive welfare program this country has ever produced.

The final version of the bill may well answer some conservative objections, but the Republicans should begin to ask themselves: Do they want to be known as the party which put 23 million people on welfare?

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More Trouble Ahead for Appalachia?

Over-regulation of 'non-gassy' mines means fewer jobs

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

What price regulation? The so-called "non-gassy" coal mines of the Appalachian region, as represented by the Coal Industry Committee on Mine Safety, are very much exercised by the mine safety bill currently before Congress.

According to the "non-gassy" mine spokesmen, an indiscriminate application of identical safety measures to all mines, regardless of whether they are obviously plagued with methane gas or not, will wreak terrible economic havoc in the mountainous areas of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Predictions are being made that the new legislation, if passed, would "put 4,000 small drift mines out of business, destroy 40,000 mining jobs and severely affect the economic base of a half-million people in Appalachia and cost the U.S. the production of 150 million tons of coal annually."

The layman, trapped between the claims of "safety" people such as Ralph Nader and the owners of mines which have always been put in the "non-gassy" category, is at a singular disadvantage. For coal mining is a tricky business on which even the experts disagree.

Generally speaking, there is apparently no great gas menace in small hillside drift mines. The Federal Bureau of Mines has traditionally classified mines as "non-gassy" when they have less than 25 hundredths of 1 per cent of methane in the air (it takes 5 to 15 per cent of methane to cause an explosion). But, regardless of what the original classification may indicate, mines have "gone bad" without warning.

In spite of the dangers inherent in coal mining, well-intentioned but excessive government regulation could easily add to the economic burdens of an already depressed area.

Methane gas can be formed at any place where vegetable matter changes into energy sources. A mine can be "safe" for 15 to 20 years, but underground miners can suddenly strike an impervious pocket formed by a clay vein that will trap methane in unusual quantities. There have been 53 explosions in supposedly "non-gassy" mines in the last 16 years. Only recently five men were severely burned in a "non-gassy" explosion in the Morgantown area of West Virginia.

The quarrel over removing the classical distinction between "gassy" and "non-gassy" mines is represented as one between the claims of human life and the claims of economic profit. Naturally no sensitive person wants to say that money is more important than the safety of human beings. So the "safety" people usually get the better public relations deal when they argue that all mines should be compelled to adopt identical rules of precaution.

However, death can come to a coal mine community in different ways. The 40,000 miners who would be put out of work if the "non-gassy" mines were to close down represent a payroll of $280 million a year. If small mine owners went out of business because they can't afford expensive, non-sparking cutting machinery, the chronic economic distress in Appalachia would be greatly magnified.

The average per capita income in Appalachia is already far below the national average (it's $2,468 compared to $3,137). The federal government is pouring millions of dollars into poverty programs in the mountain areas of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. If the 40,000 men now working in small mines which employ fewer than 15 men each are thrown on the labor market in the mountain states, it could mean death by slow economic strangulation for scores of communities.

So the "safety" people, in forcing legislation that will put the small mine out of business because it can't afford new cutting machines, are not so humane, either. They could be accused of promoting death from hidden hunger. This is not so spectacular as death from a mine explosion, but it is extinction nonetheless.

The Senate safety bill, as shaped up in committee, tries to make things easy for the "non-gassy" mine owner by giving him four years to replace his big machines and 16 months to take care of his small equipment. The Small Business Administration is authorized to make loans to cover the cost of reconverting to safety machinery. But the cost of equipping an eight-man mine section with non-sparking machinery has been estimated as running to $220,000 and up. Inevitably a lot of drift mines will go out of business when the proposed new safety rules have become law.

Good or bad for the country? It depends on one's taste in catastrophe. Without "permissible" safety equipment there will be occasional disasters in drift mine areas. With strict enforcement of a "permissible" equipment law there will be more decay in an already stricken region. Who is to say which is the more deplorable?

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USE OF AUTHORITY—"Freedom to learn does not include the freedom to disrupt and paralyze public institutions, especially when the forces behind these disruptions have anarchy and chaos as their eventual goal. Those who are unable to use their authority properly when the situation demands, may well not deserve to hold the authority which has been entrusted to their hands."—By Rep. Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.).

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TAXPAYER REVOLT—"[A] Louis Harris survey gives the cold measurements of a hot phenomenon: the American taxpayer is fed to the teeth and is on the brink of revolt. And Congress, for some months aware of this revolt, has finally confronted the old issue of basic tax reform. Tax reform should appease, but will not by itself slake the anger of, the tax rebels. They don't like the way they are taxed, and they don't like the way the government has been spending their money either. Next to the Viet Nam war, it is the swollen levels of all federal expenditure which they consider chiefly responsible for the inflation. This mistrust of federal spending is no longer just a 'conservative' prejudice but a popular cause—and a sound one."—From an editorial in *Life* magazine.

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"ARISTOTLE ONASSIS, one of the world's richest men and the husband of the former Jacqueline Kennedy, has been handed a $5.5-million loan from the Greek government to develop his international air line. If the Greek government has that kind of money to loan to Aristotle, it doesn't need any more of our foreign handouts."—By Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa)

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Communist party secretary Gus Hall is upset because he feels that President Nixon's visit to Rumania will disrupt the "Socialist unity" Hall has been pushing for years.

Gus Hall Strongly Attacks Nixon's Rumanian Reception

By VICTOR LASKY

Poor Gus Hall! The general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., is so angry with the Rumanian people he could spit.

And spit he did. In the pages of the *Daily World* (successor to the *Daily Worker*), "Old Leftist" Gus spat out a spew of invectives denouncing the Rumanians for turning out by the "hundreds of thousands to give Nixon this 'warm welcome'."

Most shocking aspect of the welcome, according to Comrade Hall, was the fact that so many of the Rumanians waved American flags during the Nixon trip to Bucharest.

Hall, who all through the years has never once deviated from his firm loyalty to Soviet foreign policy, made it clear he did not oppose the idea of "a spokesman of a capitalist country being invited and received by leaders of a Socialist country." He knew that President Nixon might well decide to pay a visit to the Soviet Union at some future date.

"What disturbs progressive Americans is the nature of the welcome given to Nixon," Hall added. "A mass 'hero's' welcome for the most reactionary spokesman of the most brutal, aggressive, warring and vile imperialism, has nothing in common with policies of peaceful coexistence. Such welcomes are not a necessary part of diplomacy. . . .

"Nixon is the face of the class enemy. A show of 'warm welcome' and friendship to Nixon is the opposite of friendship and concern with the problems of the American people. . . .

"To cheer Nixon is to cheer a man in whose hands rests the power to continue or to call a halt to the mass murder of Vietnamese men, women and children. He has chosen to continue the carnage. Nixon is the leading spokesman from the gang of multi-billionaires who enslave and exploit the millions of people in Asia, Africa and South America. . . .Nixon represents the practice of racism the world over. . . ."

Then why should such a dreadful man be greeted so warmly in the Communist capital of Bucharest?

According to Comrade Hall, the reason is obvious, and that is the Rumanians put on their show because they wanted favors from the United States. In short, the Rumanians are guilty of "opportunism"—that most serious crime a Communist can be guilty of. As Hall phrased it:

"It is opportunism to 'buy' the momentary good (or, more correctly, evil) will of an imperialist country either by soft-pedaling or being silent about the reactionary positions or acts of imperialism or by acting in a way that creates the image of division separating one's party or country from the Socialist and working-class sector of the world."

Mr. Nixon's purpose in visiting Rumania was obvious. He aimed to "split" the "unity" of the Socialist world.

"U.S. imperialism," intoned Hall, "views the Soviet Union as the chief obstacle to its plans of conquest. The Soviet Union is the one world power that can match it in economic, scientific and military power. Because of this reality, U.S. imperialism is forced to maneuver.

"All of the maneuvers are related to overcoming this central core of world reality. Its ideological crusades, its diplomatic forays, including Nixon's visits, are all geared to overcoming this central obstacle to its plans. To this end, they are maneuvering to split the Socialist world. To this end, they are willing to make temporary concessions. Their bridgeheads are bridgeheads of aggression."

What really concerns Gus Hall and all his comrades from here to Moscow is the plain and simple fact that other millions of people behind the Iron Curtain and in the Soviet Union itself—if given the chance—would probably greet President Nixon as warmly as did the people of Rumania. And this despite many decades of Communist indoctrination and anti-American propaganda.

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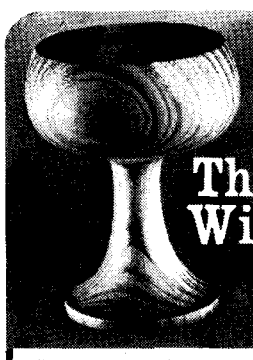
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GOOD NEWS FOR GOURMETS

Responsibility on the Campus

By DR. JOHN A. HOWARD,
President, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.

Has it struck you that in the endless commentary on campus turmoil, the questioning finger is seldom pointed at those who in fact bear the responsibility? The trustees, or regents, and the president are legally, morally and financially accountable for the character and the success of the college. If the place is a shambles, the blame is theirs.

The very failure to call the responsible authorities to task is, I believe, a reflection of a fundamental confusion about the nature and purpose of higher education.

In most undertakings, it is recognized that joint endeavor requires the allocation of responsibility and the designation of a single leader who keeps the project moving toward its target. Not so, in higher education.

On many campuses the faculty regards the president as a figurehead and fund-raiser, a shield to protect the faculty from public pressures, and the chief housekeeper for the productive professionals. Seldom is the president thought of as the prime moving force of the educational enterprise or the final determinant of major campus decisions.

A survey released this year, conducted by the United States Office of Education, dramatizes the chief reason why the academic community rejects the concept of a leader-president. Seven thousand, five hundred faculty members and administrators at 68 universities were asked to identify what are and what should be the objectives of the university. The No. 1 objective, according to those interviewed, is and should be "to protect the academic freedom of the faculty."

Ponder that for a moment.

Aren't working conditions a means rather than an end? Should the highest priority on campus be to serve the faculty? (How about the students?) If serving the faculty is designated as the supreme objective, then it follows that faculty activity is a self-justifying process, and whatever the professor thinks or says or writes is worthy simply because it is a professor who is thinking or saying or writing it.

No! No! Logic cannot accept that postulate. Hitler and Stalin and Mao have taught us that education may be employed to increase hatred and arrogance and violence. The classroom may produce human devastation as well as human dignity. Some basic judgments must be made about the nature and the thrust of the educational program presented to the students and those judgments must take precedence over the inclinations of individual faculty members.

I suggest that the confusion about educational purpose is a principal cause of campus turmoil. If the highest academic good is freedom for the faculty, then the university is anarchic by definition, order will not prevail except by chance, and leadership is not only unnecessary, it is intolerable. The president's job in such circumstances is not to marshal institutional personnel toward commonly held goals, but to support all of the people as they go all directions at once.

Man's greatest problem is to learn how he can live in harmony with other men while pursuing goals that give meaning to his own life. If our *intellectual* institutions are setting an example of strife and crudity and emotional nonthought, what hope is there for the larger society?

A good society can never be created by laws, or revolutions or ideologies. A good society is precisely and only a society of good individuals. And the colleges and universities inevitably will have a powerful impact on the attitudes and conduct of the students for better or for worse.

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STRONG JUDGE SPEAKS—In a recent address, Edward M. Curran, chief judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, spelled out some views that are too rarely heard these days from those who sit on the bench. "The time has come," he said, "when we must recognize that society has certain rights, as well as the accused. You have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As a distinguished judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, the Hon. Wilbur K. Miller once said, 'Nice people have rights, too.' Since 1960 the yearly total of crimes has increased by 47 per cent, and crime is growing six times as fast as our population. Your wife has the right to walk down the street without fear of being raped or molested. Your family has the right to feel secure in your home. Putting it bluntly, the law-abiding citizens of this country have the right to be left alone, and when some of the judges in this country realize that the rights of society should be balanced against the rights of the individual, then law enforcement will be more effective."

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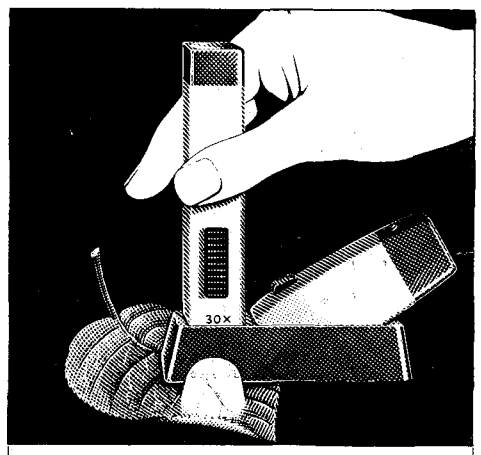

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What 'United Front Against Fascism'?

Black and White Reds Fail in Coalition Effort

By ROBERT BAILEY

Reporting on the "Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism" scheduled for Oakland, Calif., July 18, 19 and 20, *Human Events* noted that "security officials viewed the new development with alarm." The conference was proposed by the Black Panther party and co-sponsored by a new white revolutionary organization recently emerged on the West Coast, the "international Liberation School," in which SDS founder Tom Hayden and Yippie radical Stewart Albert have been involved.

The UFAF conference was to be a "coming together" of all revolutionary, radical and subversive organizations, including black, white, brown and yellow activists, for the purpose of developing a powerful coalition to build a major body capable of overthrowing the American government by one method or another.

A month prior to the conference Prof. Donald Freed, a white anthropologist from California's San Fernando State College and founder of the Los Angeles-based "Friends of the Panthers," made a big press splash when he announced the Panthers were planning to change their name to the "American Liberation Front." The change was to be made "to draw revolutionaries of all ethnic groups into one tight coalition. . .including urban street gangs."

Freed said that the new name would probably be announced officially at the United Front Against Fascism conference. "This is a revolutionary conference which will be the beginning of the American liberation movement," Freed told the Los Angeles *Free Press.*

At the conference, however, Panther mogul Bobby Seale told the gathering, "Yes, we should create a new party. You're damn right we need to parallel a national liberation front in America." But he also denied the Panthers were giving up their own identity or name.

Had this conference been able to coalesce such leftist organizations as the Panthers, the Communist party, Students for a Democratic Society, the Trotskyites, the Revolutionary Union, the Young Patriots, Chicanos and the Black Students Unions, it would have indeed succeeded in creating the most formidable front yet assembled to wage a propaganda, political and even guerrilla war against this country.

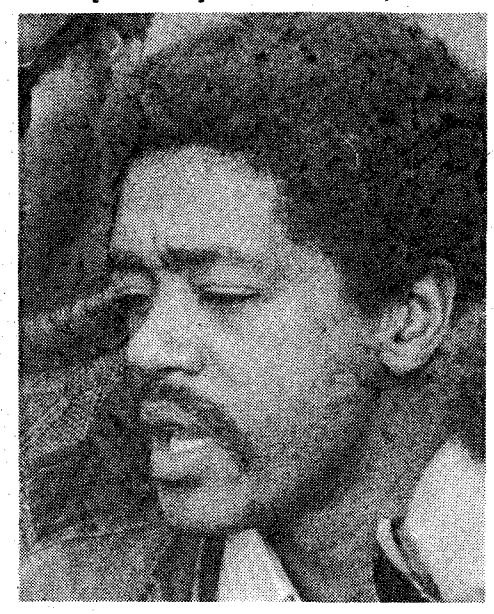
It can safely be reported that in terms of its original objectives the conference was a failure.

"Fascism," the Left code word for law and order, rather than "racism," was to be the vehicle to bring these groups that are usually ideologically competitive together under one anti-American umbrella. It did not prove to be a strong enough force for unification.

The old battles and schisms that have been fought among the sects of the Left were fought all over again. Intelligence agents were mind-boggled by the political contradictions, odd alliances and total fracturing of the groups in attendance.

The conference, which had delegations from all over the nation, drew about 3,500 people. Although primarily sponsored by the Black Panthers, Negroes were few in number and whites—mostly radical-bearded-student types and gray-thatched Old Lefters—dominated the various meetings.

Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale had earlier described the conference objectives to an underground reporter: "It is being called to put forth a concrete program of cooperation. Presently in New York there is a branch of the National Committee to Combat Fascism. Here [Oakland] we have one, in Los



The Black Panthers, led by Bobby Seale, surprised many observers at the UFAF conference by refusing to agree to the most radical plans.

Angeles we have one and we also put one together in Chicago. These committees will continue to exist and out of those many hundred who will attend the conference we hope to form many, many committees to combat fascism scattered throughout their local areas."

Advance conference registration forms called for:

- "Community control of police on a national scale.
- "Freedom of all political prisoners and political freedom.
- "Political program for all the poor, black, oppressed workers and people of America.
- "Military off campus.
- "Self-defense."

What delegates expected and obviously wanted to take place were workshops and meetings at which "United Front" concepts and tactics would be planned. Nothing like this happened.

It is believed the Panthers held some closed-door meetings during the conference and Charles Garry, erstwhile Communist and now a Panther attorney, described a meeting of attorneys to put together a national legal defense program for "members of militant groups." Garry said that he and New York lawyer William Kunstler met with 50 lawyers during the weekend conference to form the fund. Kunstler, who has been described as the "legal wagonmaster of the New Left," has numbered among his clients atom spy Morton Sobell, H. Rap Brown and East Coast Panthers, whose legal work he handles for nothing.

The San Francisco *Examiner* reported that Kunstler said he and Garry would set up national seminars, hopefully through the National Lawyers Guild (once congressionally cited as a Communist front), to coach lawyers and defendants who can't get an attorney they can trust. Garry is currently handling over 200 Panther felony cases ranging from conspiracy to murder, according to the *Examiner* report.

The "anti-Fascist" tone of the conference was expressed by Garry in an interview with Panther leaders Bobby Seale and David Hilliard. Said Garry: "I will give you my opinion as to the need and the necessity for a get together of all people who are against oppression and harassment. The answer is, that if we don't do it, if this is not done and it's not done immediately, the same things that happened in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and Fascist Japan, and Fascist Spain are going to happen here. This may be our last opportunity to be able to get together and to tell men and women of good will throughout the United States the dangers of what fascism is."

There were many complaints from conference delegates that the reportedly democratic, anti-Fascist concept of the three-day conclave was a joke because of the dictatorial fashion in which the meetings were conducted.

To begin with, Progressive Labor Maoists, with whom the Panthers should have a great deal of ideological sympathy, were told they would not be admitted and those who did infiltrate were ejected by the Panther guards. Ron Karenga's "US," the black militants from Los Angeles with whom the Panthers have recently been having a running gun battle with a large number of casualties, were also persona non grata.

All this, despite Panther chairman Seale's statement that the purpose of the United Front conference "is to implement a program, not to fight about ideology."

The Panther program he was talking about was summed up in a recent Panther publication: "America, the financial capital of the world, will soon be on its knees to the poor and oppressed people of the world. . . . The United Front Against Fascism will be and must be the most dynamite [sic], revolutionary conference this world has ever seen—the birth and eruption of revolutionary solidarity of the oppressed people of America, the exposure of Fascist America, and organization of a revolutionary fever, from within."

What were some of the results of the "coming together" of all these oppressed people with a common revolutionary fervor?

The first night's meeting, held in Oakland's Civic Auditorium, Friday, July 18, featured Communist party theoretician Herbert Aptheker in one of his long-winded, boring speeches. Hardly a "go for your guns, boys" kickoff. He was to be followed by a panel of the Women's Liberation, but his presentation, which would have been more

Agenda for National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism

July 18, 19 and 20, 1969
Oakland, California

FIRST
NATIONAL CONFERENCE for a
UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM in America

FORMAT OF U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE

FRIDAY

7:00 pm-11:30 pm	*1) Introductory; keynote; Women versus Fascism . . . . . Oakland Auditorium*

SATURDAY

10:00 am-1:00 pm	*2) Workers versus fascism. . . . . Oakland Auditorium*
2:00 pm-5:00pm	*3) Students and Education versus Fascism . . . . . Bobby Hutton Memorial Park*
7:30 pm-10:30 pm	*4) Political Prisoners and Political Freedom . . . . . Oakland Auditorium*

SUNDAY

10:00 am-12:00 pm	*5) People's Health and Fascism . . . . . Bobby Hutton Memorial Park*
12:30 pm-3:30 pm	*6) Religion versus Fascism . . . . . Bobby Hutton Memorial Park*
3:30 pm-4:30 pm	*7) American Servicemen versus Fascism . . . . . Bobby Hutton Memorial Park*
6:30 pm-9:00 pm	*8) Community Control (decentralization) of Police (mass workshop). Oakland Auditorium*
9:00 pm-10:00 pm	*9) Final: the National Committees to Combat Fascism in America ... Oakland Auditorium*

Robert Bailey is the pen name for a West Coast expert on internal security affairs who has been a frequent contributor to Human Events.

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appropriately addressed to the Comintern, started eating into the time scheduled for the girls of the fighting brigade and the militant white revolutionaries happened to look upon these girls as very important in their operation. They began interrupting Aptheker with applause, suggesting it was time to end, then with hoots and abuse.

The Panther guards, who had done a magnificent job at the auditorium entrance frisking everyone for guns and tape recorders, moved in on the hecklers and told them either to "cool it" or get out. Naturally, intelligence agents were terribly confused by the Panthers' kotowing to the "conservative" Communist party, especially since it hadn't been that long ago that they told a CP dignitary to get his "derriere" out of the ghetto.

Why the stodgy old-line Communists were handled in such a reverent way by the Panthers is still being assessed by observers. A couple of possible conclusions might be the Panthers' need for "political respectability," since they have been the center of growing violence across the country and want to slow down the "gun play" image; the other is that they might be enjoying some financial assistance from more "conservative" radical groups.

Whatever the explanation, they certainly upset the hoped-for coalition. Ironically, while they were putting on the brakes with regard to immediate battle in the streets, the potpourri of white revolutionaries was disillusioned, distressed and disenchanted at the delay.

The white revolutionaries, hot to blow up the country, were there in force and it was amusing to see Panthers preventing certain revolutionary fliers from being circulated.

The University of California's "Independent Socialist Club," a Trotskyite-type group of white students, circulated, or tried to circulate, a "What's Wrong With This Conference" flier.

In response to the lack of "dialogue" the flier charged:

"Despite their many advances, they [Panthers] are still capable of making mistakes and moving in the wrong direction in response to changing conditions. . . .The so-called 'United Front' seems to be turning into an excuse for conservative alliances, a unity based not on common political struggle but artificially constructed by top-down control and the exclusion of unpopular left-wing groups from the movement. People are lectured, like sheep in a classroom. Discussion and debate are ruled out. We are supposed to 'get down to business' and not ask any questions about what business we are getting down to. We find the conservative, corrupt and discredited Communist party and its establishment liberal allies elevated to share the platform with the Black Panther party as the leadership of our movement."

Calling one-time *Ramparts* magazine backer and Cleaver attorney Edward Keating, who addressed the first conference session, a "millionaire liberal dilettante," the flier also referred to Aptheker as a "discredited Communist party liberal" who "droned on from the podium." They described the ostracism of Progressive Labor as "nothing more than the methodology of Red-baiting."

One underground press reporter seemed to capture the white militants' apathy: "The Black Panther party, from its inception, has taken the role of the vanguard and has always pushed the defense of the revolution as a priority. During the conference the BPP changed tack to talk instead about the defense of democratic rights." He quoted a delegate as remarking, "You know how Russia is moving to the right, or at least zig-zagging; well, the Panthers have taken a right zag."

In addition to the big hoopla about fascism in America, the other thrust of the conference was to be the Panthers' petitioning for "community control of the police," a project they have been trying to get onto the ballot. This was the only subject on which the delegates had the leadership of the conference and the results were interesting.

The line waiting below the stage to ask questions was long, but its theme was evident: If we could create our own police department in the ghetto, it was asked, how would we train them? What would we do if there was a riot? (The answer was to the effect that "we" wouldn't have any riots.) And sadly amusing: Could we call for mutual aid from surrounding communities?

Obviously, the problems of setting up a ghetto police department bothered many of the delegates. But Panther-in-exile Cleaver in describing "community control of the pigs through decentralization" expressed the concept when he said, "when there's a gun out of every window, then we'll have community control."

William Kunstler from the revolutionary Lawyers Guild, who addressed the conference Saturday night, was a big hit, according to the underground press, which called his talk a "killer speech." "He told about the theft of 40 Garand M-1s from an armory in Plainfield, N.J., during the 1967 rioting there," reported the Berkeley *Tribe* (heir to the *Barb*); "the hysteria of the pigs as they kicked down the doors in the black ghetto to find the guns. . . when a pig shot a black man, Bobby Lee Williams, hundreds of witnesses from the community retaliated—stomping the pig to death." Kunstler received a tremendous ovation.

Saturday's meetings were split between a morning session at the auditorium on the subject of "Black and White Workers vs. Fascism" and an afternoon rally at Oakland's DeFremery Park (renamed by the Panthers Bobby Hutton Memorial Park after the charter Panther killed during a shoot-out with the Oakland police).

The morning meeting dealt with revolutionary organizing within the union movement. Panelists included antique longshoreman Archie Brown, whose Communist activities cover the history of the San Francisco waterfront battle. The Communist *People's World* quoted Brown as urging the united front that would place "the emphasis on the working people. . . ."

A popular panelist was Berkeley's white radical, young Bob Avakian from the Revolutionary Union, another Maoist band. Self-styled Communist Avakian, one of the conference planners, told the audience, "Our united front against fascism must be an international united front against imperialism." The Black Panther newspaper has pictured Avakian pistol in hand and honoring him with the soul title of "brother."

Amusing to non-revolutionary onlookers was the fact that delegates from out of town were led to believe the distance from the auditorium to the park, where the afternoon sessions were to be held, was only a matter of a few blocks. In fact, it is more like five miles and the trudging cross-town did nothing to help build a united front. Nor did the sock-in-the-eye that an angry PLPer gave SDS chieftain Mark Rudd during the afternoon gathering. This session was billed as the "Students vs. Fascism" and featured Cornell Black Students, SDS National Officer Jeff Jones and black militant Prof. Nathan Hare.

In spite of the impressive array of revolutionary dignitaries, things obviously weren't going well.

The SDS-types, upset over the CP influence, held between-meeting caucuses at Tom Hayden's two-story town house in Berkeley. Other meetings by them were held in an Oakland church guarded by club-wielding bully-boys to prevent a PLP raid.

The Women's Liberation group was having a fit over what it called "male chauvinism," described as a "reactionary ideology and therefore has to be fought." This attitude on the part of the women was triggered by such traumatic incidents as being frisked at the door by female Panthers, as act which could only be construed as a form of sexual discrimination.

One Women's Liberation expert and panelist was Roberta Alexander, identified as a Panther, but who has also been a UC student. She is the daughter of a one-time Los Angeles Communist and was asked to leave Spain during a recent excursion to that country which was not appreciated by the Spanish government. Another was Professor of Sociology Marlene Dixon (see *Human Events*, March 1, 1969), now a faculty member of the University of California at Los Angeles. She was considered unworthy of reappointment in the field of sociology at the University of Chicago by a faculty reviewing committee, according to a Chicago *Tribune* article, even though the committee said their decision had nothing to do with her admittedly being a radical activist.

When Sunday's sessions began, the conference, originally reported by the *People's World* as having attracted 4,000 persons from the radical left representing as many as 400 organizations, had even by their estimate dwindled to the veteran speech lovers and listeners.

Sitting on camp chairs under the spreading oaks in the park, the hangers-on looked weary and bored as they listened to the spokesmen for the "Medical Profession vs. Fascism" and the men of the cloth expound on "Religion vs. Fascism." Those clerics who are all for putting God to work in the coming revolution included the Rev. Jesse Jackson, of the SCLC; Catholic Father Eugene Boyle, at whose San Francisco church the Panthers passed out the now-famous "Black Panther Coloring Book"; and the Rev. Cecil Williams, a black minister who took time out to participate during the marathon student battle at San Francisco State College.

Sunday evening saw the United Front Against Fascism conference collapse like wilted lettuce back at the auditorium. Bobby Seale told the limp, apathetic audience, "You people with anarchist tendencies, let us tell you about our anarchist tendencies in the black community. Let us tell you about 264 ghetto rebellions in black communities that have been carried out and what that means without organization."

It was all too obvious the conference had not created a united anything.

A stack of blue mimeographed fliers emblazoned with an automatic rifle, headed "FIREARMS," remained piled beneath an auditorium chair. Its words ". . .if they choose to create a Police State, they will force us to become warriors," did not become a battle cry. The Panthers had appeared to join hands with the old Communists who tirelessly push along trying to build a revolutionary proletariat strong and big enough to out-fight or out-vote the American government. The white Maoists and anarchists turned their backs and said the conference was a bummer. Obviously the Panthers, whose instinct for timing is more acute than that of their white brothers, are willing to wait for the right moment to pounce. For the time being they and the Communist party will share their patience.

But what of the white radical rage? Student rioting will go on, as will all the other tiresome tactics of the dissident Left. But America can expect a new thrust of violence. The impatient revolutionaries, unhappy with the temporary regression of the Panthers, will turn to sabotage. If the Panthers are not ready to start blowing up America, they are.

No one should take much consolation from the fact that a united front did not find itself during the revolutionary conference in Oakland in July.

Firearms

Today, armed attacks by the paramilitary right exist as a real danger; in the future, we may have to cope with "legalized" attacks on us. In both situations we have the right to survival by self defense. To do so we must familiarize ourselves with weapons which can aid our defense, and we should obtain such weapons before fascist-type gun laws leave us totally disarmed.

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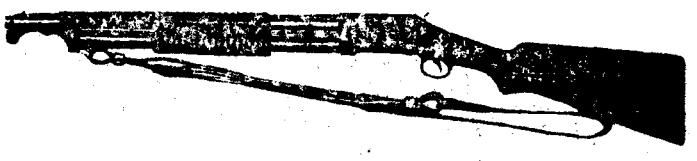
Also recommended: a powerful handgun. Most recommended: .357 magnum revolver. Also acceptable: .38 special revolver or automatic pistol in calibers .45 or 9mm Luger.



-Berkeley Liberation Committees

10 **WE WILL DEFEND OURSELVES AGAINST LAW AND ORDER.**

America's rulers, faced with the erosion of their authority in Berkeley, begin to take on the grotesque qualities of a dictatorship based on pure police power. We shall abolish the tyrannical police forces not chosen by the people. States of emergency, martial law, conspiracy charges and all legalistic measures used to crush our movement will be resisted by any means necessary—from courtroom to armed struggle. The people of Berkeley must arm themselves and learn the basic skills and tactics of self defense and street fighting. All oppressed people in jail are political prisoners and must be set free. We shall make Berkeley a sanctuary for rebels, outcasts and revolutionary fugitives. We shall attempt to bring the real criminals to trial; where this is impossible we shall implement revolutionary justice.

Above is an excerpt from some of the literature handed out at the UFAF conclave in July. Note that readers are urged to acquire a .375 Magnum, a shot from which is powerful enough to penetrate an engine block.

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Unprecedented School Crisis

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Never have the public schools of this country faced greater chaos or more uncertainty than at this moment, when they prepare to open next month for the fall term. Public education is ensnared in a bureaucratic jungle. Federal tentacles reach into every classroom. The American people must come to terms with an unprecedented crisis affecting nearly every child in the land.

Conflicts arising from federal intervention during the past 15 years since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision are now focused in the tugging and hauling within the Nixon Administration. As between coercion and common sense, Washington seems almost schizophrenic in the Jekyll and Hyde personality it presents variously on school issues. Conservatives are placated one day, liberals the next.

With considerable fanfare, the Administration announced on July 3 the cancellation of September school desegregation deadlines for about 700 school districts in the South.

After weeks of behind-the-scenes wrangling, Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch and Atty. Gen. John M. Mitchell issued a joint statement, highly critical of the Johnson Administration's "guidelines" intended to force desegregation in all 17 Southern and border states by September. They said a policy seeking universal integration by that date, regardless of local difficulties, "is too rigid to be either workable or equitable." The two Cabinet members added that "in some districts there may be sound reasons for some limited delay."

Conservatives hailed this development. Their rejoicing, however, was short-lived. Within a few days the Administration nervously backtracked under sustained assault from the nation's liberals, suddenly reunited in common cause.

HEW triumphantly announced that procedures for cutting off funds to recalcitrant school districts remained unchanged. A few days later the Justice Department filed suit to force integration of Georgia's entire school system. This all-things-to-all-men approach has left both liberals and conservatives completely confused.

So much for Administration ambiguities. What about the courts?

It has not been easy, but federal judges have managed to confound the bureaucratic confusion emanating from Washington. The Warren Court's habit of legislating its predilections instead of interpreting the Constitution has produced educational chaos. There is no recognizable "law of the land" that applies universally to the schools. The "law," as handed down in federal courts, differs widely from state to state and often within the same state.

For example, this summer a three-judge federal panel upheld a "freedom-of-choice" desegregation plan used by 33 Mississippi school districts as the method "most workable and acceptable to everybody." But in other Southern states federal judges have ruled against "freedom of choice" in favor of federal guidelines that were never enacted into legislation and in fact violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Here in Virginia, District Judge Ted Dalton recently ruled against an effort by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to speed desegregation of Roanoke schools. "I don't want to bring about forced integregation by busing or making someone go to a certain place," Judge Dalton said. "Ill never be able to go along with it." By contrast, District Judge Robert Merhige has made the NAACP's integration plan "the law" for school districts in other sections of Virginia.

The Supreme Court's incongruous decisions have only confirmed the lower court's bewilderment. The High Court let stand a decision by the U.S. Circuit Court in Denver that upheld the Kansas City, Kan., school board's assignment plan based on neighborhoods, even though classroom racial imbalance resulted.

On the other hand, the court refused to review a district court order in Oklahoma City that ruled racial imbalance, resulting from a school's neighborhood, was unconstitutional. The Warren Court has avoided a confrontation with its inconsistencies simply by looking the other way whenever certain appeals came up.

Thus the "law" as it differs from section to section in school cases, violates the 14th Amendment's equal protection guarantee that the Warren Court cited in support of its original 1954 integration ruling.

Meanwhile, above the confused din, one can hear the sound of bugles at last. Congress, it seems, is riding to the rescue. On July 31, the House, by an overwhelming 293-to-120 vote, wrote into the HEW appropriations bill a provision that would legalize "freedom of choice" for public schools. If the Senate retains this explicit House curb on forced integration, HEW will be stripped of its autocratic authority to withhold funds from school districts as a method of enforcing its integration guidelines.

Beyond the promise of corrective legislation in Congress, the nation must look to the new court under Chief Justice Warren Earl Burger to clear away the brambles and restore the schools to their proper function—education, as opposed to racial experimentation.

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PRICE VS. BENEFIT—"For every benefit that the government holds out, the question should be asked, 'What am I required to give up in return?' A careful formulation of an answer will usually bring to light that the price demanded is greater than the benefit offered, whether in taxes, or in restrictions of individual freedom and initiative, or in self-respect."—By Mario Pei in *The America We Lost*

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The Communist regime of East Germany has tried hard to pass itself off as a "workers' paradise." But, above, in the most glaring example of communism's failure, East Berlin guards erect a wire mesh screen sealing off the divided city.

Grim Visit to East Berlin

By WILLIAM FULTON

Berlin:—Visiting Communist East Berlin is "the tourist thing" to do these days. All you need is a foreign passport and $1.25 in hard Western cash to change for the softer East currency, and you are in.

You may go through Checkpoint Charlie at the corner of Friedrichstrasse and Zimmerstrasse. This is a maze of red- and white-striped barrier poles and one-story tawdry buildings. Registration is voluntary at the United States checkpoint, but going through the Iron Curtain is another story.

You must surrender your passport to green-clad soldiers of the GDR (German Democratic Republic), while a big picture of Walter Ulbricht (president of East Germany's Communist states council) gazes balefully down on you.

Two guards with rifles also watch every move from an observation tower with a commanding view of the area. You are told there are 238 bunkers, 202 observation towers, and 232 kennels for police dogs stationed in the 99.4-mile perimeter around Berlin.

GDR has 12,000 soldiers guarding this wall—with its accompanying barbed wire and broken glass on top—to see that their own people do not escape to the West.

You may take a regular bus tour or go along with a driver who holds a foreign passport in a private car. On this trip, the latter mode of transportation was taken.

This correspondent first traveled around the eastern zone in July 1945, during the Potsdam conference, and found today's contrast most striking. Ulbricht's government is making a showcase for the "peasant and workers paradise" of this divided part of the old German capital.

East Germany is the leading economic power of the Warsaw Pact countries outside the Soviet Union.

The war-ruined lime trees that once soared to majestic height along Unter den Linden have been replaced and are flourishing in the center of the broad thoroughfare. State-owned and state-operated shops beckon brightly on either side.

Outside East Berlin's one and only big department store stood a woman demonstrating a vegetable parer. She was the brave symbol of vanishing private enterprise. Inside a clerk said a Russian line of goods had been discontinued, but the shelves were stuffed with wares from the Eastern satellites. Very expensive.

Across a nearby square stands Ulbricht's new, shining office building, a creation of aluminum and glass with the front door and facade from the old kaiser's palace imbedded in the middle to commemorate the day in 1919 when the German Communist party abortively proclaimed a republic.

Thrusting its way upward 1,200 feet into the sky is a new steel and concrete television tower, highest structure in either of the Berlins. "Ulbricht's asparagus tip," West Berliners call it.

The most glittering bauble in East Berlin's showcase is Karl Marx Allee, rechristened from Stalin Allee. This broad avenue is lined with modern apartment houses, all owned and rented by the state. Workers, for whom the housing had been promised, struck in 1953 because all the flats were going to Communist leaders.

Arbitration by Red Army tanks ended the strike.

East German marks were spent at the state opera house coffee shop. Service was fair, coffee was potable, and cakes were delicious. Then the Reds' red tape slowly unraveled for the return to free West Berlin.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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LETTER FROM A GHOST—"It is a fact of life these days that a citizen's attempt to get something straightened out with the federal government is difficult in direct proportion to the size of the bureaucracy. Take for example the poor soul who wrote his congressman, Rep. Burt L. Talcott (R.-Calif.), trying to get some satisfaction from the government over a health care snafu. 'On May 15, 1968, I filed a claim for Medicare payments. It was never paid. It took several months through the Social Security office to find out why. They finally told me I had passed away. All efforts to have this error corrected have failed. Your help would be appreciated to set the record straight.' Oh, the wonders of modern government."

—From the Nashville *Banner*.

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Principle and Postal Service: Where Blount Bill Falls Down

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

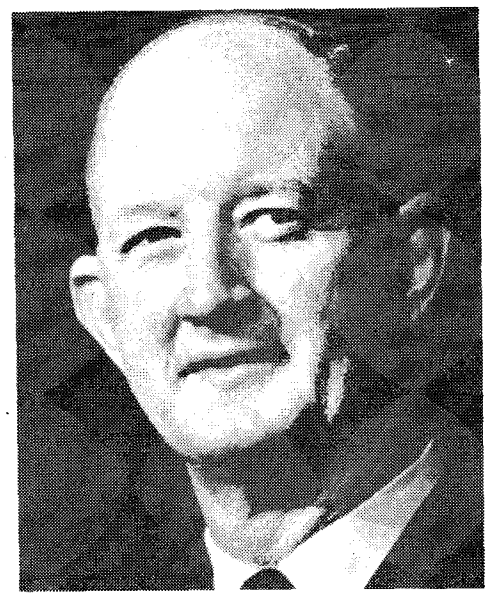
Back in the winter, when the Nixon Administration first began to move toward postal reform, old-timers on the Hill gave forth with cynical snickers. End patronage? It couldn't be done. Set up a private postal corporation? The unions would never permit it.

Well, it's late summer now, and the snickers are subsiding. A postal reform bill will emerge from the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service within the next few weeks. This may not be exactly the Administration's proposal, which would establish the "U.S. Postal Service" as a quasi-public corporation, but it will be something close to it. We can expect action in the House before the snow flies.

The committee's choice lies generally between HR 4, sponsored by Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski (D.-N.Y.) and HR 11750, the Administration's bill. Dulski's plan is for minimal reform; he would retain the Post Office Department as a Cabinet agency, under full congressional control as to wage levels, but he would create a new holding corporation to handle property management. The Administration's bill goes much farther, and on most points it is much the better of the two.

Both bills bend over backward in an effort to conciliate the powerful postal unions. There are seven of these unions, ranging in size from the tiny National Association of Special Delivery Messengers to the hefty National Association of Letter Carriers. Even today, the Post Office conducts collective bargaining negotiations with them almost as if the government were a trucking company sitting down with the Teamsters.

These same hard-nosed negotiations would continue under either of the two main plans for postal reform. Both plans would continue the present ban on strikes; both would provide for compulsory arbitration in the last resort; both would eliminate political patronage. But there is one major point of difference, and on this point Dulski's measure is superior: The Administration bill would authorize negotiations that could lead to compulsory unionism; the Dulski bill would cling to existing civil service law.



Rep. Thaddeus Dulski (D.-N.Y.), left, wants to keep the reorganized Post Office under civil service, thus retaining the rights of workers not to join a union. But Postmaster General Blount's bill leaves a dangerous loophole for forced unionization.

This is an important point; it ought not to be obscured in peripheral issues. When he testified on June 10 before the committee, Postmaster General Winton Blount responded candidly to some sharp questions from Rep. William Ford (D.-Mich.). Blount had been emphasizing his desire to see the new corporation bargain with organized labor precisely as private industry bargains, under terms of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts.

"With that in mind," asked Ford, "would it be possible for one of the craft unions to negotiate a national contract with a union shop clause in it?"

"Yes, sir," said Blount.

"So that all employes falling within the purview of that craft, whether they joined the union or not, would pay dues to that union once you had negotiated such a contract to this union?"

"Yes, sir."

With deference to Blount, who is eager to see his bill become law, this just won't do. Roughly 85 per cent of the 700,000 postal employes now belong voluntarily to the postal unions. They cannot be compelled to join; no federal worker under civil service can be compelled to join; the option of joining or refraining is now clearly protected. Under Dulski's bill, this freedom would be preserved; under the Administration's bill, it could be lost.

The principle cannot be compromised. Whatever Congress does in this regard will provide a precedent, of sorts, for teachers, trash collectors, police, firemen, nurses and countless other public employes. So long as all citizens are compelled to support government, all citizens must be free to seek government jobs on their own merit. Here at least, in public employment, the right to work has to be preserved absolutely; it can't be put out on the table as an issue to be bargained away.

(Copyright 1969, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

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FISHING ON BIMINI—Anti-poverty officials concluded recently that a tax-supported "fishing school" on the island of Bimini—which boasts one student and two instructors—was a "good idea that didn't work out." Cost to the taxpayers: $20,000.

'Giveaway' Ambassador For Panama Attacked

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

President Nixon faces a bruising fight if he appoints Robert M. Sayre as ambassador to Panama.

Rep. Daniel Flood (D.-Pa.), a House Appropriations subcommittee chairman, has served blunt notice of this in a letter to the President. A 25-year congressional veteran, Flood has long been closely interested in Panamanian affairs.

Basis of his emphatic opposition to Sayre is that he was an active participant in the drafting of the 1967 proposed Panama Canal treaties.

These treaties evoked such a storm of disapproval in Congress that they were never signed. Some 150 House members sponsored denunciatory resolutions. They made three charges: That the agreements ceded sovereignty over the canal to Panama; made that country a "partner" in canal management, and would share its defense with Panama; authorized the U.S. to construct a new canal in Panama.

The uproar over these treaties was so massive and vehement that the Johnson Administration shelved them. No effort has ever been made to revive them. The House Foreign Affairs Committee did hold hearings, but for some unexplained reason they were not published.

Sayre, 45, a career foreign service officer, is now ambassador to Uruguay. Authoritative reports have been current for some time that he was to be shifted to the U.S. Embassy in Panama.

One of the State Department's leading experts on Latin America, Sayre has served in a number of countries there—including Mexico, Peru and Cuba. For several years he was deputy assistant secretary of state with the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. In formulating the discarded Panamanian treaties, he worked with Walt W. Rostow, controversial special assistant on foreign affairs to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

In assailing Sayre's reported contemplated appointment as ambassador to Panama, Rep. Flood sharply challenged his fitness and qualifications.

"I emphatically trust," the influential legislator wrote the President, "that you will not appoint anyone as ambassador to Panama who was associated with the preparation of the abortive 1967 giveaway treaties, but someone who can be depended upon to protect the indispensable sovereign rights, power and authority of the United States over Canal Zone territory and the canal. Those treaties not only were weak and unrealistic, but also perilous to the security of both the United States and the Western Hemisphere, including Panama.

"Except for our presence in Panama today, Soviet power would be dominant there, and would absolutely control the Panama Canal in which the United States had made net investment, including defense, from 1904 to June 30, 1968, of more than $5 billion, all supplied by the American taxpayer."

Citing the recent visit to Havana of a powerful Russian fleet and authoritative reports of the establishment of a Soviet naval base there, Flood stressed the crucial necessity of preserving the security of the Panama Canal.

"The situation affecting the canal is of such grave character," Flood declared in his unpublished letter, "that it should not be dictated by shabby sentimentalities. We have enough trouble on our hands with Cuba, which was permitted to pass into the Communist orbit, without having another similar, and even more grave, situation at Panama."

Flood has long strongly advocated removal of State Department control of Panama Canal policy. He wants that placed in the Defense Department.

"Panama is still a land of endemic revolution and political turmoil," Flood maintains. "For the U.S. to surrender its full sovereign powers over the Panama Canal is not only unrealistic, but fraught with the greatest peril for the security of all the Americas. That's why it is of such urgent importance for us to have an ambassador there who understands that fully and clearly, and not one who would acquiesce in the surrender and subversion of such powers."

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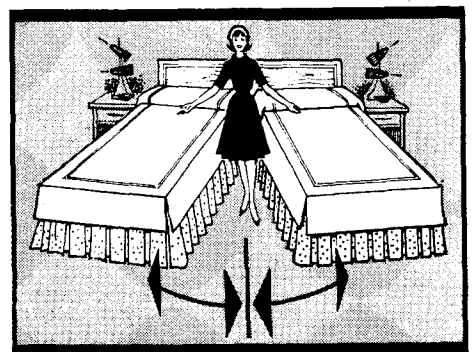

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When the 'Losers' Are in Control

By REED J. IRVINE

It was five years ago that James Burnham published *Suicide of the West,* in which he made the following perceptive observation:

> The drift of United States foreign policy. . .is toward continuing disintegration and eventual defeat, or more exactly, dissolution. A conclusive demonstration is simple: if the United States has had such trouble handling a small island at its threshold, how can it handle the Third World and the resolute Communist empire?

Cuba was a crucial test of the American mettle, and as Burnham correctly saw, it did not augur well for our ability to deal successfully with the next major test that confronted us: Viet Nam.

A great deal has been said already about what went wrong in Cuba and

'The Losers'
By Paul D. Bethel
Arlington House, 1969
615 pages, $10.

about the dangerous consequences of the errors made by the friends of freedom, whether Cubans or Americans. Paul Bethel, as press officer for the American Embassy in Havana in the years preceding and following Castro's takeover, was in a key spot to observe what transpired on both sides. He was not only an eyewitness to the Cuban tragedy, but a participant, frequently seeing his policy recommendations which might have helped save the situation rejected by timid and unimaginative superiors.

After we broke with Cuba, Bethel returned to the United States, but continued to keep a close watch on Castro's Cuba. He monitored radio broadcasts for the USIA and interviewed Cuban escapees. In 1963 he became executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and editor of "Latin America Report."

He has therefore followed closely not only the birth of the Castro regime, but its involvement in spreading subversion to other countries in the Western Hemisphere, including the United States. A frequent contributor to *Human Events,* Bethel has long been recognized as one of the country's most knowledgeable authorities on Latin America and especially on Cuba.

The "losers" referred to in the book's title are not, as one might suppose, the friends of freedom who have suffered some bitter defeats in Cuba and elsewhere, but rather the intellectuals in our midst who have aided and abetted the crushing of freedom by the totalitarians. Bethel quotes Diana Trilling's description of the type—the man who "finds virtue only where he is not, in the nation which is not his nation, in the class which is not his class, in the races and religions which are not his race or religion."

The "losers" include those individuals whose aversion to physical force is so great that they would deny a schoolteacher the right to slap a child's wrist, but who shrug off the liquidation of thousands by a leftist tyrant with the old bromide, "You can't make an omelet without breaking the eggs."

Bethel comments trenchantly on the Cubans of this mentality—those liberal social refomers who cooperated with Fidel Castro in the early stages of his regime and failed to oppose his illegal grab for total power. He observes that the Cuban business community was shocked when Castro's first minister of finance, a liberal, failed to oppose his unconstitutional and economically disastrous agrarian reform law. He says:

> Instead of having firm friends in the social reformers in Castro's court, as they had thought, they now knew that those liberals were neither disposed to fight the Communists themselves, nor were they willing to back up the business community in its anti-Communist posture. Cuba's social reformers (like their counterparts in the United States) revealed a totalitarian quirk of mind, a "big brotherism," that evidenced itself in a passion to plan the lives of others.

Eric Hoffer, our self-educated longshoreman-philosopher, has pointed out this same quirk of mind. He describes it as "the schoolmaster mentality," which in its extreme form produces "self-appointed soul engineers who see it as their sacred duty to operate on mankind with an ax."

It turned out that these people had no genuine concern for the true welfare of the people of Cuba. Bethel observes that the Cubans "committed the unpardonable crime of failing to oblige the predisposition of the theoreticians, and soon they discovered that their welfare was studiously ignored."

The true liberal places high store on freedom of the press. One of the strong criticisms of Batista was that he introduced press censorship. Bethel reminds us, however, that reporters and editors who had expressed views that meet with the disapproval of the censor were not molested for having done so. Foreign news was not censored and most domestic news that did not undermine the security of the dictator was untouched. This was *negative* censorship.

The Communists are not satisfied with this type of press control. The press in a Communist regime is obliged to show positive support for the regime; it is not enough that it merely refrain from printing what is considered dangerous. A few weeks after Castro came to power he reiterated the pledge that he had made the previous year that he would not enforce any press censorship. "Censorship," he had said, "is the true mark of the dictator and we will sweep it away."

In less than a year he imprinted this mark of dictatorship on his own regime. On Reporters' Day, Oct. 24, 1959, his minister of education sounded the death knell of the free press, declaring, "Objectivity is a myth of civilization." What the press should do was reflect public opinion. And who spoke for the public? Why, Fidel Castro, of course. The duty of the press became to do what Castro said.

One by one the independent Cuban newspapers were knocked off, one by accusing it of being too cooperative with the previous government, another by sending armed hoodlums to invade its premises. Failing to hang together to resist the snowballing power of the dictatorship, they were "hanged" separately.

And they received precious little support from those on the outside who had boosted Castro as a liberal alternative to Batista. In 1967, when the totalitarian nature of the Castro regime had been evident for years, our own liberally oriented National Educational Television network broadcast a documentary to bring Americans up to date on Cuba. The program did not so much as hint that freedom of press and speech had long since been stamped out!

Thus do the "losers" and the "liars" even now continue to perpetuate the myth that Castro has somehow been a benefactor of the poor Cuban people.

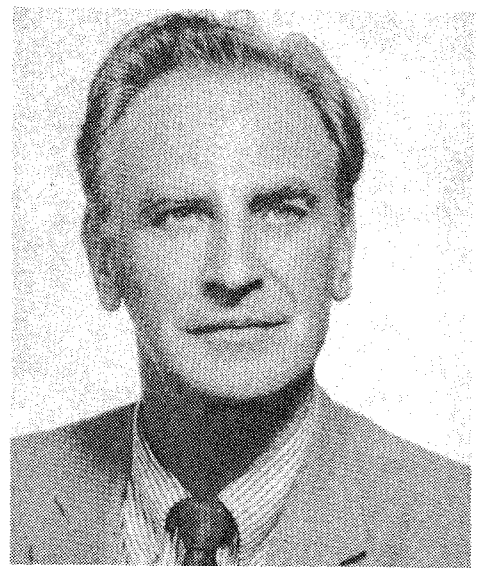
Perhaps the two most important lessons that emerge from Paul Bethel's fact-laden book are these:

- Misery and poverty in Cuba do not explain Castro's rise to power.

- We will not prevent Castro-type takeovers elsewhere in Latin America if we devote all our attention to economic improvement and social reform and fail to come to grips with Communist ideological warfare.

The notion that Castro succeeded in Cuba because the people were poor and desperate has gained wide currency. Even our prestigious Committee for Economic Development fell for this line, asserting without citing an iota of evidence that the Castro revolution was an example of an eruption that resulted from "poverty and a feeling of injustice." The National Educational Television documentary went beyond this to suggest that Castro in promoting subversion throughout Latin America was merely "lighting a match to an inflammable

Field workers assemble at a Young Communist League camp in Castro's Cuba to work in banana fields. In addition to the labor, they will receive heavy Communist indoctrination.



Author Paul Bethel, a frequent contributor to Human Events, was in Havana during Castro's take-over.

situation of hunger and exploitation in Latin America."

Bethel goes into considerable detail to demonstrate that Cuba before Castro was a relatively prosperous and affluent country by Latin American standards. Space does not permit citing more than a few of the statistics he employs to show that "the Cubans were far from the filth-spattered *homo sapiens* squatting sullenly and disconsolately on flaccid shanks" as implied by such writers as Castro-apologist Herbert Matthews of the New York *Times.* Those who have taken this line are shown to be either ignorant of economic and social conditions in pre-Castro Cuba or guilty of deliberate distortion.

For example, Matthews has written that under Castro proper attention was paid to public health for the first time. But Bethel points out that under Batista every Cuban was entitled to free medical care in the 69 hospitals scattered throughout the island. And he notes that in 1958 Cuba had the lowest infant mortality rate in all Latin America and had more doctors per inhabitant, one for every 998, than all the Latin American countries except Argentina and Uruguay.

Nutrition has become a desperate problem in Cuba only since the Castro takeover. Previously, per capita daily consumption of food provided 2,870 calories, only slightly below the U.S. average. Meat consumption per capita came to 75 pounds per year, with meat left over to provide some exports. Cuban industrial wages in 1957 were more than double wages in Japan and were even higher than the Australian average. Bethel observes that by any statistical indicator of living standards and social welfare Cuba ranked very near the top in Latin America.

While the rest of Latin America continued to progress economically, Cuba retrogressed under Castro. Bethel estimates that per capita Cuban national income fell from $356 in 1959 to about $177 in 1964. The death rate rose as diseases related to poor nutrition multiplied. While the Castro apologists boast of higher nominal incomes, they omit to mention that inflation and the unavailability of goods have greatly reduced real incomes.

The economic hardships have been caused by disastrous policies that have destroyed initiative and incentive, that have misdirected resources, especially through extravagant military expenditures and that have driven many tens of thousands of the country's productive citizens into exile.

Continued on page 14

Mr. Irvine is on the staff of the Federal Reserve Board and in his spare time is a free-lance writer on political topics.

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The Sakharov Paper Is a Soviet Plant

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Andrei D. Sakharov is a noted Soviet physicist who was admitted to the Russian Academy at the age of 32 and was later credited with the development of the H-bomb. Sakharov is personally unknown to Western scientists who have visited the Soviet Union or have participated in the Pugwash Conferences. There was special interest therefore when the New York *Times* printed an essay on "Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom" attributed to Sakharov. The essay has since been published in book form with an introduction by Harrison Salisbury.

The Sakharov paper voices the familiar hopes and fears of Western scientists. "The division of mankind threatens it with destruction . . . any preaching of the incompatibility of world ideologies and nations is madness and a crime.

"Only universal cooperation under conditions of intellectual freedom and the lofty moral ideals of socialism and labor, accompanied by the elimination of dogmatism and pressures of the concealed interests of the ruling classes, will preserve civilization."

Sakharov also urges: "that intellectual freedom is essential to human society—freedom to obtain and distribute information, freedom for open-minded and unfearing debate and freedom from pressure by officialdom and prejudices. Such a trinity of freedom of thought is the only guarantee against an infection of the people by mass myths, which, in the hands of treacherous hypocrites and demagogues, can be transformed into a bloodly dictatorship. Freedom of thought is the only guarantee of the feasibility of a scientific democratic approach to politics, economy and culture."

The Moscow party line still preaches the fall of the West, despite sugar-coated pronouncements by various Soviet scientists and other non-political types.

Sakharov foresees a convergence of capitalism and socialism. "Such a rapprochement implies not only wide social reforms in the capitalist countries, but also substantial changes in the structure of ownership, with a greater role played by government and cooperative ownership, and the preservation of the basic present features of ownership of the means of production in the Socialist countries."

Sakharov condemns harshly the Maoist and Stalinist forces and praises the "leftist Leninist Communists" who will work out the rapprochement with "leftist Westerners" and "reformist bourgeoisie." He argues that the capitalist countries, influenced by "pressure exerted by the example of the Socialist countries" are moving closer to the Socialist ideal and that ideas of ideological conflict are therefore outmoded.

The Sakharov paper is a skillful appeal to Western intellectuals to avoid Armageddon by accommodating the Soviet design for living. There is no call for Soviet change—only for Maoists to accept the Soviet order. Some of our intellectuals read into the paper an abandonment of Soviet commitment to conquest.

This is the apparent purpose of the Sakharov paper. It has no impact in the Soviet Union. It reaches only the West. It seems designed to soften Western resistance to Soviet aggression by creating an illusion that all differences can be settled by negotiation.

Sakharov is not in jail. Release to the *Times* virtually assures the official character of the piece. The paper was probably written or edited by Kim Philby, the British renegade who knows Western psychology so well.

The Sakharov paper pre-dated the rape of Czechoslovakia, but that event is dismissed by our "reformist bourgeoisie" who see peace in surrender.

Harrison Salisbury asked, "Would the United States submit to a United Nations force to go to Alabama to enforce the equality of races? Would the Soviet Union permit a United Nations force to go to Uzbekistan and protect the rights of Uzbeks?" Salisbury answered, "I believe we should and so does Sakharov." But Sakharov doesn't!

The implied equation is invalid. Salisbury and the *Times* do spread their judgments across the land to influence our people. Sakharov is silent about these issues in the Soviet Union. He speaks only to the West.

Since the West already has the individual freedom required for progress and the Socialist states do not, we can let the rapprochement begin with toleration of freedom in Socialist countries. There is none in the Soviet empire today. Let us keep our powder dry.

□□□

AN IDEA IN MACON—"Never underestimate the power of an idea. When Mayor Ronnie Thompson ordered American flag shoulder patches to be sewn on the shoulders of Macon police uniforms, he could not foresee that physical assaults on the policemen would drop almost to zero or that the plan might spread across America. Yet the attacks have stopped, apparently out of respect for the flag, and major police forces around the country are studying the Macon plan. The idea does honor to our mayor and policemen. It also says something fine about the flag itself and the latent respect to be found in even the rowdiest individual."—From the Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph*.

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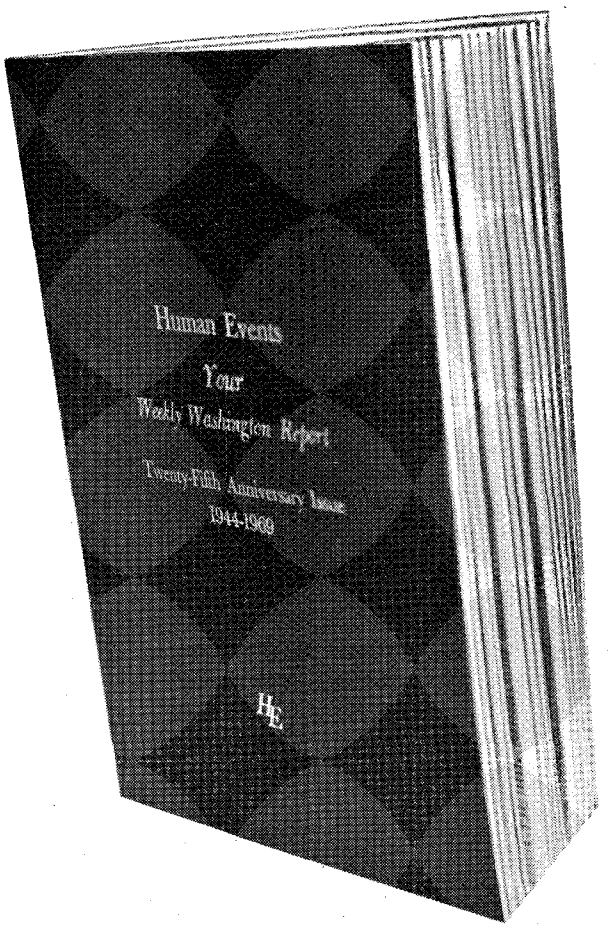

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SDRs: Another Wishful Move in Money Game

By ALICE WIDENER

Now that our government has succeeded in cramming about $3.5 billion of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), known as "paper gold," into the coffers of the International Monetary Fund for this coming year, over the dead bodies, one might say, of European bankers believing in sound money, there is much rejoicing that an international money crisis has been averted.

But has it?

Answers vary—from "only temporarily" to "permanently, at least in our time."

Perhaps a better answer is: For so long as the politicians can get away with playing the money game.

The way they played it in Washington, D.C., for the last 10 years, "surplus" was bad, "deficit" good; solvency "restrictive"; indebtedness "liberating."

The hard-working, thrifty West Germans, they say, ought to upvalue the mark to prevent the extravagant British from having to devalue the pound again; the Swiss ought to quit being gnomes hoarding gold in their coffers, because Washington says gold isn't good.

In writing about the money game, even the National Association of Manufacturers' August 4 *Report* makes some statements that are hard to swallow. "Strangely," says the NAM, "the United States is made to feel guilty about its payments deficit. Our 'adverse balance of payments' is widely regarded as evidence of misconduct, or at least bad judgment, on the part of the United States. The accusation comes most commonly from the very countries who have been holding on to [U.S.] dollars for their own purposes, and thus producing our payments deficit."

This seems to imply that the big countries holding reserves of U.S. dollars ought to spend them, perhaps buying from us much more high-priced goods (sometimes of inferior quality) produced by workers dominated by Big Labor bosses seeking ever-higher wages. Because American demagogic politicians spent and printed money like madmen from January 1961 to January 1969, thus inflating our currency and piling up debts, should thrifty savers abroad be penalized?

According to such reasoning, Joe Doakes, who squandered his money and went deeper and deeper into hock to "give away" this and that, is a good boy; while Hans Mueller and Willie Schmidt, who saved their money and piled up higher and higher bank accounts, are bad boys.

To put things in simplest terms, here are some incontrovertible figures furnished from United Nations statistics by the always reliable National Industrial Conference Board in New York City:

For 1966: Savings as a Percentage of Employes' Compensation: U.S.A.—6.8; West Germany—16.5; Switzerland—18.6.

Why is the West German currency so desirable that all manner of Socialists, Keynesians and money-game players want to force the Federal Republic of Germany to upvalue the mark? Because the West German workman saves almost two-and-a-half times more money out of his wages than the American worker. Why is the Swiss franc at a premium? Because the Swiss worker saves three times more money out of his wages than the American.

Basically, there is no West German economic "miracle"; only the West Germans' hard, hard work and sober thrift. The same is true about the economy in little Switzerland, where arable soil is extremely scarce and there are almost no natural resources.

In Washington, D.C., the "paper gold" advocates are boasting "we've won the money game." Gold, they claim, is now a barbarous relic and "paper gold" is good as gold. I wouldn't bet on it as a long-term sure thing or even long-term likelihood. The money game is rough. But the final score is chalked up in terms of plus and minus in real savings and tangible assets. They say SDRs are solidly backed by "confidence." But human confidence is variable as the wind.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

Continued from Page 12

When 'Losers' Are in Control

But what is even worse than the economic hardships is the political oppression, including the most inhuman treatment of the thousands incarcerated as political prisoners.

Bethel observes that the stories of persecution and inhuman treatment that began to leak out of Cuba could have had a tremendous impact on world opinion about Castro had they been properly publicized. Those who were interviewing refugees in Miami urged Washington to have the President, the secretary of state and our ambassador to the U.N., Adlai Stevenson, discuss and condemn this brutality before the court of world opinion.

But as he glumly notes, "Official Washington remained singularly unmoved by the atrocities being committed in Cuba and by the propaganda advantages to be gained by an exposé of those atrocities. So did the liberal press."

One is immediately reminded of the official silence that surrounds the terrible atrocities committed by the Viet Cong at Hué in February 1968. Our men of conscience still agonize over the atrocities of Hitler committed over a quarter of a century ago, but many of them close their eyes to the barbarities of the present day. Even our government averts its eyes from these unpleasant scenes.

Bethel discusses the 1965 crisis in the Dominican Republic, which he covered in person, and demonstrates that the hand of Castro was clearly evident in the rebellion; it has been reported that the ostensible leader of the rebels, Col. Caamaño, who disappeared from his diplomatic post in London some time ago, is now in Cuba. Bethel also goes into considerable detail in discussing the totalitarian drive in Chile and some other Latin American countries. He shows that Castro's Cuba is a constant menace to all its free neighbors, using every weapon in the armory of ideological warfare to create turmoil and promote subversion.

Bethel warns that the lessons of the last eight years should have taught us that the Communists will cease to menace us "only as they cease to be Communists." He advocates what James Burnham has called the "Western Strategy"—a policy of trying to extend the influence of liberal Western civilization to those countries that have fallen into the vice-like grip of an oriental despotism.

Bethel puts it this way: ". . .we must create a climate of victory and peace—victory over the Communists and peace with the people they hold captive . . . .An indispensable first step in this direction is to stop assuring the Communist elite of our perpetual 'good will.' Our overseas propaganda must be unrelenting in its attacks upon the Communist doctrine and specific in bludgeoning Communist leaders for every act of political repression and religious persecution committed by them. . . .As a positive measure we must emphasize over and over—through all the means available to us—that the United States is committed to the defense of free peoples."

There are many indicators that a fruitful field for such strategy does exist in the countries now under the heel of totalitarian communism. The apparently spontaneous enthusiasm that the Rumanian people displayed toward the President of the United States is itself an interesting sign of how the people in such countries really feel. *The Losers* suggests that we must do more to capitalize on those feelings unless we all want to end up as losers.

Why Teen-Agers Don't Find Jobs

By RUSSELL KIRK

As summer approached, the federal Department of Labor, the several state employment commissions and other governmental agencies urged employers to hire teen-agers for the season. That's a sound policy, but it is more easily advocated than adopted, at least by small employers.

"In the past," says a bulletin from the Michigan Employment Security Commission, because of lack of understanding of laws, rules and regulations governing the hiring of minors, our 16- and 17-year-olds have found it almost impossible to get summer jobs. This year the procedure has been made far easier and less time-consuming. Also, the list of the kinds of jobs these young men and women can be assigned has grown considerably."

That's to the good. Yet the red tape and direct cost to employers still seriously impede such hiring of young people. Consider the forms that employers must complete, and taxes that they must pay.

Federal income tax must be deducted from the wages of all young employes, and the appropriate forms completed at intervals.

In many states, state and local income taxes also are levied—with more paperwork for small wages.

Social Security taxes—heavier, in the case of teen-agers, than are income tax levies, often—must be paid, and more forms filled out.

For an employer of four or more persons, federal unemployment taxes must be paid, and monthly, or quarterly, and annual forms submitted. Separate taxes of this sort, with forms, must be paid to state employment commissions.

Even if an employer has less than four people on his payroll, still he must pay state unemployment taxes and fill out more standard forms.

In most states it is compulsory for the employer to carry workmen's compensation insurance, even upon temporary employes; he bears the whole cost of this, as he does of the unemployment taxes. Still more paperwork is required.

In many states, special working permits must be secured for teen-agers, and reports of working conditions submitted.

For any small employer, this is a heavy burden of office work and taxation. Supposing that the efficiency of the youthful employe is not remarkable, and that he works only for three months at most, it may simply be impossible for the small employer to break even with such seasonal help.

Except in the case of students who are sure to return to school in the fall, employers run the risk that teen-agers (emulating adults) may abuse unemployment compensation regulations by contriving to get themselves fired—and then, after the expiration of the required weeks of idleness, subsisting on "rocking chair pay." This charge falls directly upon the individual employer's deposits with state authorities for unemployment compensation.

With all these handicaps, it's no wonder that most small employers, and many big ones, are not enthusiastic in their co-operation with the governmental advocates of teen-age employment.

What could be done by way of remedy? Why, through legislation or administrative policy, teen-age temporary help could be exempted from nearly all of these burdensome requirements.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Oil Depletion Facts

By REP. ED FOREMAN (R.-N.M.)

Percentage depletion has benefited the consumer by helping keep petroleum prices low. In fact, the price per gallon of gasoline today, before the taxes levied at the service station pumps, are the same as the price in 1948. This is even more impressive when you consider the many improvements made to increase the delivery performance of a gallon of today's gasoline as compared to the gasoline of 1948.

According to figures compiled by the First National City Bank of New York, from 1925—the first year's taxes to come under percentage depletion—through 1966, petroleum company earnings after taxes averaged 9.9 per cent of invested capital. By comparison, the figure for all manufacturing companies was 10.7 per cent. In 1966 this comparison was petroluem companies 12.6 per cent, and all manufacturing companies 14.1 per cent. Of the 25 leading U.S. industrial corporations on the basis of sales, seven are petroleum companies. But not one of these petroleum companies is in the first 75 on the basis of return on invested capital.

Critics charge that because of the percentage depletion provision, petroleum producers recover their costs many times over. The fact is that although the oil industry realizes about $1 billion a year through the operation of this provision, it invests about $5 billion a year in the United States in searching for and developing new petroleum reserves.

Red Intentions

By SEN. JOHN McCLELLAN (D.-Ark.)

In my judgment, if Russia were ready, sincere, and in good faith about desiring an arms limitation agreement, we could proceed to the conference table on that issue within the next 60 days, and certainly within a few months thereafter have the finished product before us in the form of a treaty for ratification. Why is that not being done? Simply because they are not ready. They are unwilling. They do not wish such a treaty or such an agreement, unless it it is one of a kind which will deny inspection.

FBI's Operations

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

On July 15 the Federal Bureau of Investigation released a summary of its operations during fiscal year 1969 which updates to a certain extent the testimony given by Director Hoover before a House Appropriations subcommittee earlier this year. . . .

While the more newsworthy achievements of the FBI are brought to public attention, its functions as a money-maker are generally unknown.

During the past fiscal year, fines, savings and recoveries in FBI investigations reached a record figure totaling $345,832,583, which amounts to a return of $1.57 for every dollar appropriated for FBI operations. In addition, in the last fiscal year the bureau had 13,166 convictions, resulting in actual suspended and probationary sentences totaling over 47,000 years. Also, during this period 29,220 stolen cars were recovered due to the efforts of the bureau's agents.

As Mr. Hoover has repeatedly stated, citizen interest and concern is a necessary part of the fight against lawlessness and crime. This latest report by the bureau on its operations offers a general idea of the scope and seriousness of the many threats to our general welfare, peace and tranquility.

AID Funding Gets Few Results

By REP. DAVID HENDERSON (D.-N.C.)

I suppose every citizen has his own mental image of a "lobbyist." Probably the most common one is a sneaky character—a Good Time Charlie type—flashing rolls of money, who contributes heavily to "campaign" expenses; is always ready to wine, dine and entertain legislators, and is seeking unwarranted consideration of special interest legislation.

There actually are a few lobbyists who fit this description, but they are so obvious they are almost totally ineffective. I resent a great deal more than the obvious fellow, who makes no bones about what he is up to, the lobbyist who is within the government itself.

One day recently, with Congress having under active consideration the President's reauest for more than $4.5 billion in new authorization for foreign aid spending, a representative of the Agency for International Development (AID) delivered to my office a voluminous breakdown explaining this tremendous request. He also brought with him a news release listing North Carolina business firms, individuals and institutions which "are participating in the U.S. foreign aid program by producing commodities for shipment abroad and by providing technical services to the poor countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

According to the release, AID spent $1,905,353 in North Carolina between July 1 and Dec. 31, 1968. There is a further breakdown by city and county to insure that each congressman knows exactly how much of this money is spent in his district. Surprisingly enough, I learned that $28,830 was spent in my district.

I want to make it clear, however, that even if expenditures had been 10 times that sum it would not have influenced my vote on additional foreign aid spending.

We have poured millions upon millions into Latin America and on a recent "good will" mission there, Gov. Rockefeller was greeted with hostility, riots, demonstrations and cancelled invitations. The same kind of thing is true in other areas where our foreign aid has been the heaviest. I do not agree with those who say that since the program has not worked so far, the obvious remedy is to continue it.

There is already enough money authorized and appropriated for foreign aid to phase the program out of existence, and it is my firm intention, despite this "lobbying" by AID, to vote against any further funding of it.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• President Nixon's wide-ranging **welfare reform proposals** are expected to be debated long and hard before any votes are taken, probably not until well into fall. The $4-billion program, incorporating a new family benefit payment, was met with initial cautious praise in Congress, although many members balked at the hefty price tag. White House aides are now in the process of writing the proposals into bill form and attempting to assuage various opposition blocs.

• The House has passed what has been called **"the most comprehensive tax reform bill in history"** (HR 13270) and the Senate is expected to begin hearings on the matter following the end-of-August recess. The bill would reduce tax rates for low-income wage earners (with some 5.2 million of them removed from the tax rolls), single persons, middle-income taxpayers and heads of households; a 50 per cent maximum tax was placed on earned income. On the other hand, increased revenues are expected from altered tax structures for municipal bonds, capital gains, pension funds, charitable contributions, oil depletion allowances, farm losses and other items. If the Senate acts on reform this session, some tax relief would be felt by taxpayers next year.

• President Nixon and urban liberal Democrats are headed for another major showdown, this one over the issue of **mass rapid transit.** Most congressional liberals have thrown their strength behind a bill (S 1032) to establish a mass transit trust fund, similar to the Highway Trust Fund, which would dole out some $10 billion over a 10-year period for building rapid transit systems (e.g., subways) in the nation's cities. The trust fund would be guaranteed and uncuttable, financed to some degree with "users' funds," such as excise taxes on new automobiles. The President countered this proposal with one to appropriate $10 billion over a 12-year period to improve all forms of public transportation and to be financed from general revenues, not a special fund. Hearings on the liberals' proposal have already begun before the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee on Urban Affairs, while the Nixon plan is still being written into bill form.

• The touchy subject of **census questionnaires** is on its way to resolution, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee having reported out a bill (HR 12884) to revise Title 13 of the United States Code, governing the decennial population census. The committee's revisions do not go as far as some census critics had urged, as it deleted language from the bill which would have limited census questions to population, housing and employment. However, the committee did drop the provision for a jail sentence for persons who refuse to answer census questions (but retained the $100 fine for this offense) and prohibited use of census information in a "data bank" linking names of individuals with information on them.

• The annual **appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare** (HR 13111) has passed the House bearing a price tag of $17.6 billion—some $155.8 million more than the Nixon Administration had requested. The biggest single increase over the White House request was an added $1.05 billion in education funds. Senate liberals are expected to first attack two of the bill's more controversial provisions, one cutting off higher education funds to colleges which do not cancel federal loans to students convicted of disruptions, and another amendment which expressly prohibits HEW from using government funds for busing or for interfering in "freedom of choice" school desegregation plans.

• With the ABM matter out of their hair, congressmen are next turning their attention to a guy named MIRV—standing for multiple independently targeted vehicle—the Defense Department's latest contribution to arms weaponry. Both the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Senate Foreign Relations Committee are holding hearings on the **advisability of suspending MIRV testing and development,** with advocates of suspension arguing that it would help the President in disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union.

• The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency is presently considering a raft of bills dealing, in some matter, with **gun control.** The most extensive measure, (S 977) sponsored by Sen. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.), would require the registration of all firearms and the licensing of all persons who use firearms or ammunition; enforcement of the bill would be left to the states. Other legislation would exempt shotgun or rifle ammunition from current federal gun control provisions (S 845), make carrying a firearm while committing a crime of violence a federal crime (S 2667), and establish a National Firearms Information Center (S 100).

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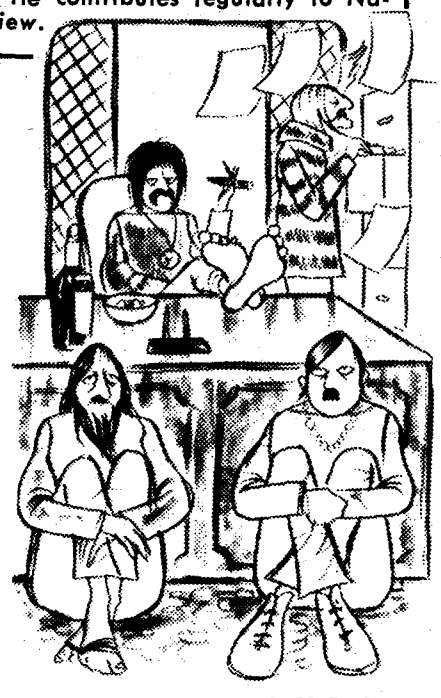
VICTOR GOLD, one of the ranking authorities on the Angst System, has his own public relations firm in Washington, D. C. Mr. Gold served as Assistant Press Secretary in Barry Goldwater's 1964 Presidential campaign. He contributes regularly to *National Review.*



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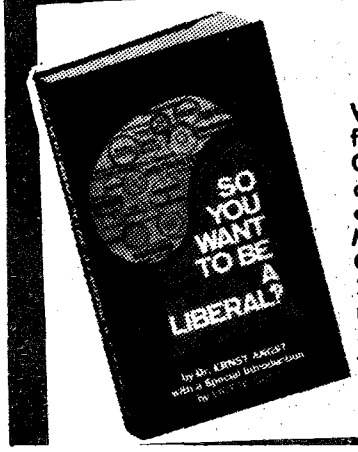

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